EXOGENOUS INFLUENCES IN KASHMIR FROM THE NEOLITHIC TIMES TO THE ADVENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

Thesis submitted to the University of Kashmir
for the award of the Degree of
Master of Philosophy (M. Phil)
IN
HISTORY

By
AMAN ASHRAF WANI
Under the Supervision of
Prof. Mushtaq Ahmad Kaw

Centre of Central Asian Studies
The University of Kashmir, Srinagar-190006
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This is to certify that the present work, Exogenous Influences in Kashmir from Neolithic Times to the Advent of the Christian Era, is the original piece of research carried out under my supervision by Mr. Aman Ashraf Wani, M.phil scholar of CCAS, Kashmir University. I, therefore, recommended the dissertation for the award of M.Phil degree in History.

Supervisor

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INTRODUCTION

Croce, the famous historian-philosopher of early twentieth century, made a perspective remark, declearing that "All history is contemporary history."[1] By this assertion he meant that history consists essentially in seeing the past through the eyes of the present and in the light of its problems. While the present is encountered with a variety of problems, the most crucial problem, perhaps, is the division of mankind into regional, ethnic, linguistic, creed and caste compartments with sinister implications on the human welfare. Therefore, the most pressing need of the present, where history is called upon to share its responsibility, is to unify the divided mankind by emphasizing upon its shared past.

The formulation of unitary view of human society is possible if we unhook the study of local and regional histories from the pigeon-holes of region-centric bunkers and situate them in the context of Global history. Looking history beyond the local and national boundaries is nothing but a realistic approach to the study of regional cultures if we do not shut our eyes from the fact that the history of hitherto society is the history of migrations, movement of people, colonization of new areas, cultural transmission and cultural borrowing. While it is and shall remain a universal truth regardless of the considerations of time and space, it is truer in the case of pre-modern history which is marked by migrations – voluntary, induced,

and forced. Minus a very few almost all the passes, bypasses, routes, ways and by-ways which connect the world today through water and land were discovered by the ancient man.

Archaeology, palaeobotany, biology, philology, history, geography, psychology and other sciences have given us a unified concept of man. It is unanimously believed by the palaeo-anthropologists that *Homo erectus* first emerged in east Africa. The only controversy is whether he emigrated out of Africa before or after he developed Acheulin hand-axe complex.[2] It has also been shown quite convincingly that the epoch making inventions, discoveries, ideas, practices were the handiwork of different centres of civilization wherefrom they diffused to different parts of globe through different channels. The striking similarities in cultural traits as well as the physiognomy that we find among different regional cultures spawning a large land mass is a clear testimony to a common past shared by the humanity. Thus Fernand Braudel rightly articulated: "There is no history of Europe, but a history of the world", even as he was seeking to establish the 'identity of France.'[3] This was an addition to the assertion earlier made by Marc Bloch: "There is no history of France, but a history of Europe."[4]

Though in size and population a small place and even as surrounded by high mountain ramparts, the culture of Kashmir offers an excellent example of 'global culture.' Since the very inception of

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1 Vide. E.H. Carr, *What is History?* p. 15.

2 See Robert Sussman, "A Current Controversy in Human Evolution," *American Anthropologist* 95 (1993) : 9-96.

3 Fernand Braudale, *Identite de la France: I Espaces et histoire,* Paris, 1983, p. 14. Vide, Maurice Aymard and Harbans Mukhia, (eds.), *French Studies in History,* Vol. I. *The Inheritance*, p. 2

4 Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft,* (tr. P. Putnam), New York, 1953.

human settlements in the Valley upto the recent past, Kashmir has been virtually a cul-de-sac into which peoples have infiltrated from different parts of the neighbouring world. Not surprisingly, therefore, if we randomly choose, say, twenty people from a gathering drawn from different parts of the Valley, we will straightaway get twenty faces representing twenty ethnic and sub-ethnic groups spawning a host of countries from China to Europe and from Eurasia to India, and in the process it will break down the walls between the world civilization. The same results we may get if we analyse the different aspects of Kashmiri culture and trace their roots.

The long period of three thousand years, which this work covers, constitute the most formative phase of Kashmir history in that it was during this period that the framework of Kashmiri culture was constructed in which all the subsequent developments had to fit in themselves to meet the demands of compatibility, so powerful was the culture that came to be forged during the period. The dominating feature of the period is that it is underlined by peopling of Kashmir by peoples drawn from different parts of the neighbouring world who brought with them different cultural traits which after ceaselessly interacting with one another gave birth to a culture which represents a fascinating example of 'global culture.' The commercial and cultural contacts with the neighbouring world further nourished the formation of this cosmopolitan culture. It is precisely this basic fact of Kashmir culture which we try to demonstrate in the following pages.

Although many scholarly works have been written on the ancient history of Kashmir, the period under review has been dismissed by all of them just in a few lines. This is also the case even

with such outstanding works as S.C. Ray's *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*. Nor has the doyen of ancient Kashmir History, M.A. Stein discussed the period in his monumental work, *Kalhan's Rajatarangini,* except a very brief mention of the Mauryas and Kushans. The reason for almost leaving out this period by the historians is not difficult to seek should we consider that at the time when they wrote archaeology was still in its infancy. Burzahom had not yet revealed itself fully and the spade had not even touched Gufkral and Semthan. As archaeological sources constitute the basic building blocks for reconstructing the history of the period, it is no wonder that these works could not give even an outline history of the period.

Some signal discoveries made by archaeology during the second half of the twentieth century brought with them the message that a historiographical revolution would occur in Kashmir following the new finds. However, so far the historians failed to respond to this announcement. The new evidence that was thrown up by archaeology has not been utilized by the historians. The present work not only tries to tap this information to give a connected history of Kashmir upto the beginning of Christian era –the period which continues to be blank in the historical works– but what is more significant, it suggests making a conceptual break-through in the history of Kashmir by situating it in the context of shared histories of humanity.

Sources

As already mentioned, the main source for constructing the history of Kashmir under study is the archaeological evidence that has come from the sustained excavations of three famous archaeological

sites of Kashmir, namely, Burzahom, Gufkral and Semthan. Burzahom is situated at a distance of 24 kms north-east of Srinagar. The site was first excavated by H. De Terra and T.T. Patterson in 1953. However, the serious work of excavation was taken up in 1960-61 by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) under T.N. Khanzanchi. The excavations lasted for ten years and brought to light interesting information about the three cultural phases of Kashmir – Neolithic, Megalithic and early historic. Gufkral is situated about 41 kms south-east of Srinagar. It falls in tehsil Tral, district Pulwama. It was excavated by a branch of Archaeological Survey of India under the direction of A.K. Sharma. The excavations have revealed three periods – Neolithic, Megalithic and early historic period. The Neolithic is further subdivided into three periods on the basis of occurrence of pottery – aceramic IA, Ceramic IB and mature Neolithic phase. Semthan is located 44Kms south of Srinagar on the Jammu-Srinagar National Highway in Bijebehara town, district Anantnag. The site is located on a karewa deposit. The site was first excavated in 1977 by the north-western circle of Archaeological Survey of India, but the systematic work was carried out from 1981-83 under the direction of R.S. Bisht. The excavations have given a sequence of cultures starting from the middle of the first millennium B.C. upto late medieval times. While Burzahom and Gufkral throw a valuable light on the Neolithic and Megalithic phases of Kashmir history, Semthan bridged the gap between Neolithic-Megalithic period and historical period and provided an extremely rich information on Mauryan, Indo-Greek, Saka and Parthian presence in Kashmir.

Two written sources, namely, *Nilamatapurana* and *Rajatarangini*, throw very little but no less significant information. *Nilamatapuran* written in sixth –seventh century A.D. is the first source to mention about the origin of Kashmir and the first settlers of the Valley, though there is a need to separate chaff from the grain. *Kalhana's Rajatarangini* makes a mention of Kashmir under Asoka, though he wrongly represents him as the local ruler. It can also be inferred from his work that Kashmir was subjected to Greek invasion which ultimately accounted for Greek occupation of Kashmir, though there is no direct mention of it. Nor does the chronicle refer to Saka and Parthian presence in Kashmir.

Next to archaeological evidence, the most precious source is non-conventional sources, namely, language, place names, physiognomy, and the cultural remnants of the past. We have tried to initiate the process of making use of them within the constraints of time. However, much needs to be done more.

No less important source is the scholarly works written on different classical civilizations – Chinese, Mesopotamian, Iranian, Egyptian, Greek, Central Asian and Indian– as they help us in identifying the parallels of Kashmiri culture. Hence these works are indispensable for situating the history of Kashmir. The works written by the eminent archaeologists and archaeo-botanists, on different aspects of Neolithic Kashmir and early historical period by drawing on the finds of Burzahom, Gufkral, Semthan and Harwan are of considerable importance for getting insights as well as clues for further research.

Despite having tried to cull information from widely diverse sources, large and sometimes crippling gaps in our information made a coherent and well-ordered narrative of events extremely difficult. In order to arrive at a fairly coherent history of the period, therefore, we often had to resort to make assumptions which we felt entitled to deduce by keeping into account the canons of making judicious use of imagination and speculation. We look forward to the future discoveries that will render the present work incomplete and even obsolete before too long.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

Physical features – An outline

Kashmir Valley, which is a longitudinal depression in the great north-western complex of the Himalayan ranges, wears a unique geographical personality, rightly compared with a synclinal trough.[1] It is a flat plain bordered by *karewa* uplands and surrounded by an unbroken ring of mountains. With the *karewas* and hillocks occupying more than half of the Valley, Kashmir is divided into many side valleys and dotted by numerous springs, streams, *nallahs*, lakes, rivers and marshes. In the great mountain chain there are a few passes which give a passage to and fro from the Valley; and there is but one narrow gap left near the north-west end of the Valley where the V*itasta* (Jhelum), after uniting the whole drainage of Kashmir, flows out by the gorge of Baramullah on its course towards the sea. Due to its high elevation, Kashmir's weather is much cooler than the rest of India. With its salubrious climate and charming beauty Kashmir has earned laudable epithets like 'paradise on earth'.

Geological Changes and the Formation of the Present Geography of Kashmir

It may be remembered that the present geography of the Valley is the result of the great geological changes, Kashmir underwent since the hoary past.

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1. Moonis Raza, *The Valley of Kashmir: A Geographical Interpretation*, Vol. I, p.15.

Regarding the origin of Kashmir before it assumed the present form and shape, we have two types of sources: one is the folklore recorded in the religious literature and chronicles of Kashmir; and second is the scientific evidence based on sustained scientific research on the geology and climate of the pre-historic Kashmir. Although the scientific evidence is extremely revealing, it is in the fitness of things to see, first, what the folklore says, for it not only corroborates broadly the conclusion drawn by the scientists about the origin of the Valley, but it is this ancient tradition which provided a readymade hypothesis to the geologists to test its veracity. The earliest work which has recorded this tradition is the *Nilamatapurana* – the canonical work of Kashmiri Brahmans and the earliest work available on Kashmir. It was written in 6th–7th century A.D. According to *Nilamatapurana* Kashmir was for six *manvantras* a lake, six *yogna* long and three *yogna* broad.[2] If we convert a *manvantra* into years it comes to millions of years and according to some scholars a yogna is equal to eighteen miles.[3] Thus according to *Nilamata* Kashmir was originally a vast lake and it continued to be so for millions of years. How this lake ultimately dried out, a myth has been concocted that there lived a demon – Jalodhabhava – in the lake who frequently used to harass the people of the neighbouring countries, forcing them to approach the sage Kashyapa, the king of Nagas, to save them from the ferocious demon. And Kashyapa prayed. With the result Brahma sent all the [illegible] to Kashmir to free the people from this demon. However, the demon refused to come out, and upon this Vishnu ordered his brother

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2. *Nilamatapurana*, ed. and tr. by Ved Kumari ,vol. II, pp. 4ff.
3. Ibid.

Balabhadra to make a breach of the mountain with his plough so that the water of the lake would be drained out and the killing of the demon would become possible. Balabhadra did as commanded; and in this way the Valley got desiccated and the land came to be known after Kashyapa as Kashmir.[4] This story has been recorded by almost all the later chronicles, Sanskrit as well as Persian.[5]

While giving allowance for the myth concocted to serve an ideology, what is interesting about this tradition is that it contains a truth of geological ages when Kashmir was really covered by the waters of a vast lake. It is also supported by the scientific studies carried by geologists, geomorphologists, paleontologists, geochemists, hydrologists, geochronologists, paleobotanists and others since 1864, producing a vast literature on the geological Ages Kashmir.[6]

According to these scientists some four million years B.P Kashmir did not present such a grandeur as its south-western rampart; nor was Pir Panjal as much elevated as we see it today. Also, there were no *karewas*, no lakes and no marshes. Neither Kashmir had its present climate. According to the paleoclimatic studies it was around four million years B.P that the mountainous basin of Kashmir was

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4. Ibid.
5. See Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, tr. M.A. Stein, Book, i, 25-28. See also *Baharistan-i-Shahi* written during the late sixteenth century A.D.
6. Of the most significant works so far produced on the geological Ages of Kashmir mention may be made of De Terra and Peterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Culture*; D.A. Agarwal (ed.), *Climate and Geology of Kashmir and Central Asia: The Last Four Million Years*; I.A. Farooqi and R.N. Desai, "Stratigraphy of Karewas of Kashmir," *Journal of Geological Society of India*, vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 299-305; "Additional mammalian fossils in the Karewas of Kashmir" *Current Science*, 1992, 41 (4), pp. 529-530; "Note on the occurance of fossil vertebrates in the karewas of Kashmir," *Research Bulletin*, Punjab University, 1986; B.P. Kotlia, "Vertebrate Fossils and Palaeoenvironment of the Karewa Intermontane Basin, Kashmir, Northern

formed as a result of the orogenic process associated with the Himalayan uplift.[7] The rise of the Himalayas resulted into the up-thrusting of Pir Panjal range and with the uplift of the Pir Panjal range the water out let from the Valley got completely blocked resulting into the formation of a vast land in the basin and the beginning of the *karewas* owing to the process of sedimentation.[9] This was the Pleistocene Age, which witnessed four cycles of glaciation and intermittent interglacial period contributing to the origin and shrinkage of the lake, formation of *karewas* separated by moraines of second glaciations.[10]

Around 3.5 million years B.P there was further uplifting of the Pir Panjal on account of which the lake shifted to north, northeast exposing the deposits on the south, south-west.[11] And around 85000 years B.P a great geological change occurred: It was the breaching of the Pir Panjals near Baramullah owing to some tectonic activity.[12] With the result the lake was slowly drained out. It, however, left its permanent remnants not only in the shape of *karewas* and side valleys but also in the form of lakes, rivers and marshes which abound in Kashmir.

While the conclusion of the scientists, that Kashmir's present geography is the result of a series of geological changes, is based on a huge mass of geological material found in the Valley, the most rewarding, however, is the lacustrine or the lake deposits which have

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India," *Current Science*, vol. 54, No. 24, pp. 1275-77. For further information see, *Climate and Geology of Kashmir and Central Asia*, op. cit.

7. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.

come down to us in the shape of flat topped plateaus known in Kashmiri as *wader* (Persian *karewa*) which as already mentioned, occupy more than half of the Valley; and the area covered by each *karewa* varies from 8 to 80 sq kilometers. After studying the structure and composition of these *karewas* the scientists are unanimous that Kashmir was a lake for millions of years and that it shifted towards the north –north –east side around 3.5 million years B.P and ultimately started draining out around 85000 B.P. Their conclusions are mainly based on the structure and composition of *waders*.

The *karewas* are characterized by layered and unlayered clay, sand, conglomerate gravel, plant and mega fossils – a clear representation of deposition in lake complex.[13] To be sure these *waders* could not have accumulated without the aid of a dam lower than the Valley floor.

Needless to emphasis, the *karewas* of Kashmir represent two horizons– Lacustrine deposits and Loess deposits (wind borne dust). According to the geologists the term *wader* or *Karewa* should be restricted only to lake deposit which is represented by lake bed of the lower *karewa* and bottom deposit of upper *karewa*. The lacustrine deposits found in the *karewas* consist of gravels, sandstones, clay and numerous plant remains and animal fossils. The plant remains include species of acer, barbaris, rosa, betula, pinus and picea; and the animal fossils include fresh water shell, fish equs hypselephas hysudricus, bos, sivatherium, rhinoceros, cerves and sus. Some of these finds have been dated to lower Pleistocene.[14]

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13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.

That the *karewas* of Kashmir represent lake system of deposition and that the lake shifted towards north- north-east after half a million of its existence is also indicated by the *karewa* types we come across in Kashmir. There are two types of *karewas* in Kashmir designated by the geologists as lower *karewas* and upper *karewas*. The lower *karewas* are situated towards the south – south – west of Kashmir, represented by Hirpur formation; and the upper *Karewas* are situated towards its north-north-east side represented by Nagam formation. These two types of *karewas* differ in thickness, structure and loess deposition, fundamentally because owing to the shifting of lake towards north – north –east. Thus while the deposition of their lower part took place in a vast lake, their upper part is marked by the regression of the lake represented by slanting tops. The sloping trend of the *karewa* belt on the Himalayan side can even now be noticed at Karapur dam site 2 kms. north of Pakharpora. While the lower *karewas* are folded and faulted, the upper *karewas* can be examined between Dubjan, Hirpur and Shopian.[15]

The marked difference between the lower and upper *karewas* is seen in the variations in their respective thickness of aeolian deposition of loess (wind borne silt). While the loess thickness of the lower *karewas* is 25-30 meters with 9 paleosols, its thickness is only 10 meters with 3 paleosols on upper *karewas* and are visible at Shirpur Pattan, Beeru Badgam, Burzahom etc. This variation is the result of the fact that the lake continued to be in force on the Himalayan flank till the late Pleistocene times and the loess started depositing on this side only after the lake was finally drained out. Till then the loess had

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15. Ibid.

already started depositing on the Pir Panjal flank.[16] As per the radio carbon dating of these loess deposits, the older loess which forms the ground surface in the south-western Kashmir dates back to 31000 B.P, and the young loess, which forms the ground surface in the north eastern Kashmir Valley is not older than 18000 years.[17] Since the Valley floor was not yet properly desiccated it is in this younger loess that the Neolithic man excavated his dwellings, which have been encountered at Burzahom and Gufkral. This settlement pattern lasted perhaps upto two hundred B.C as all the early settlements have been mostly found on the *karewas.*

Palaeoclimatic researches have shown that around, 10,000 B.P i.e., with the beginning of Holocene (recent) period, cooler conditions prevailed in Kashmir. The period witnessed excessive rains forcing the people to move out.[18] Such conditions must have accounted for the extinction of such animals as elephants or the horses whose fossil remains have been obtained from the *wader* beds.[19] However, by 5000 B.P. climate again became warmer, attracting people from the neighbouring *kohistans* to colonize the Valley which offered better means of livelihood besides a temperate climate.

Passes and Routes:

Although Kashmir was encircled by a great mountain chain, there were a number of passes which connected Kashmir with the

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16. Ibid.
17. D.P. Agrawal, "Cenozoic Climate Changes in Kashmir: The Multidisciplinary Data," in his (ed.) *Climate and Geology of Kashmir and Central Asia.*
18. Rekha Dodia *et al*, "New Pollen Data from the Kashmir Bogs": A Summary, in *Climate and Geology of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 105.
19. Ibid.

neighbouring world. According to Ou-kong three roads connected Kashmir with the neighbouring world. One in the east which led to Tou-fan (Tibet), the second in the north which reached into Po-lieu (Baltistan) and the third in the west which went to Kien-to-lo (Gandhara)[20] Sharafu'd- Din Ali Yazdi, the author of *Zafar nama* also says that there were three principal highways leading through Kashmir – the one to Khurasan, the other to Hindustan and the third one to Tibet.[21] However, according to Abul Fazal, who is better informed than Yazdi, twenty-six routes connected Kashmir with India alone.[22] Of them the most important were Banihal, Sidhu, Pir Pantsal, Tosmaidan and Baramulla routes. Of all these roads, Baramulla was the most convenient as it was warmer and experienced less snowfall. It was the shortest line of communication to Hazara and Indus Valley, and thence to North-West Frontier Provinces, Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia. Not surprisingly, therefore, most of the early settlers of Kashmir belonged to the western borderlands of the Valley. It may be significant to note that Hiuen Tsang and Ou-k'ong coming from the ancient Gandhara and Urasa (Hazara), followed it on their way to Kashmir.[23] This route was invariably adopted by the Muslim preachers who came from Persia and Central Asia.[24]

Several routes cross the mountain range which encloses the Kashmir Valley in the north and north-west. Many of them crossed the range in the direction of Kishanganga through Lolalab, Kupwara and

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19. Ibid.
20. For details see , M.A. Stein, *Kalhans Rajatarangini*, Vol. II, p.358.
21. *Zafar-Nama* (text), Vol. II, p. 180.
22. *Ain-i-Akbari* (text), Vol. II, p. 350.
23. Cf. M.A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Vol. II, p. 401.
24. For details see Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, MS, Research Liberary, Srinagar.

Karnah side. These routes connected Kashmir with Chilas and other parts of Dardistan and thence with Central Asia. It may be mentioned that Kashmir was often subjected to inroads by Chilasis and Bomba chiefs of the Kisanganga Valley.[25]

Another important route connects Kashmir with that part of the upper Kisanganga Valley, which is known as Gurez and connects with the routes leading to Astor and Baltistan, and subsequently with Central Asia and Tibet.

The route which connected Kashmir with Ladakh and thence with Tibet and China crossed over Zojila. It is from this route that considerable immigrations took place from eastwards as is also evident from the physiognomy of a sizable number of Kashmiris.

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25 Stein, op.cit., pp. 405-6.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF KASHMIR UPTO THE COMING OF THE MAURYAS

Antiquity of Man in the Neighbouring World

According to the available sketchy and controversial story about human evolution[1], the animal order to which humans belong, the primate, became separated from the other mammals between 90 and 65 million years ago, though well documented fossils are available only for the period since the early Eocene, about 57 million years ago.[2] The common ancestor of the higher primates–cercopithecoid monkeys and hominoid apes– appeared in the Eocene of Africa at least 40-50 million years ago, and monkey and apes became separated perhaps in the early Miocene between 23 and 17 million years ago.[3] All of this earliest evolution took place on the continent of Africa. Hominoid fossils begin to appear in eastern Europe and Asia as far as China by

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1 For up-to-date and comprehensive account of the theories of human evolution since Darwin presented his theory of evolution by natural selection in 1859, see *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Evolution*, ed. Stave Jones, Robert Martin and David Pilbeam (Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 86-107)

2 Vide Kwang-Chih Chang, "China on the Eve of the Historical Period" in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 37-38.

3 Ibid.

the Middle Miocene, 17 – 11 million years ago.[4] The next to branch off, 10 and 16 million years ago, was probably the gorilla, while the closest relative to humans, according to genetic structure was the chimpanzee, which branched off as late as between 8 and 9 million years ago.[5]

The last of the primates to evolve were the early humans. Their fossils discovered thus far have been grouped into two major genera, *Australopithecus* and *Paranthropus*, which begin to appear between late Miocene and Pliocene, and certainly by 4.5 million years ago. They are called human instead of ape because their canine teeth are reduced in size and are chisel-like, and because they began to engage in bipedal walking like latter humans (*Homo*). Of the two, *Australopithecus* is the earliest and the more apelike, while members of the *Paranthropus* may have been able to make and use crude stone tools. The first fossil classified into the genus *Homo*, *Homo habilis*, dated to 2.5 million years ago. Its bipedal walking is sturdier and its brain is larger. Significantly these creatures are again known in Africa only.[6]

The first humans to achieve world wide distribution are members of a new species, *Homo eractus*; they populated the eastern part of Africa and the rest of Eurasia as well as Africa. Fossils of this species were infact among the earliest human fossils to have been discovered and are still the best known throughout the world. The first such fossil was found in 1890 by a Dutch military doctor, Eugene

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4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., pp. 38-39.

DuBois, in Java.[7] Because they looked even more "primitive" than the Neanderthal bones, DuBois believed that he had found the "missing link" between man and the apes, calling his new find *Pithecanthropus erectus* or the Erect Ape Man.[8] Thirty years later, the Swedish geologist, J. G. Anderson located fossiliferous locality at Zhoukoudian southwest of Beijing [Peking]. Since 1927 continuous excavation have yielded several skulls and postcranial skeletons at Zhoukoudian. These were studied by Davidson Black and Franz Weidenreich. Black gave the population represented by the fossils a new Latin name, *Sinathropus pekinensis*, the Chinese man at Peking.[9]

It is unanimously believed by the Paleoanthropologists that *Homo erectus* first emerged in east Africa. The only controversy is whether he emigrated out of Africa before or after he developed Acheulean hand-axe complex.[10] After *Homo eractus* evolved the 'anatomically modern' population known as *Homo sapiens*. Two contrasting theories are now offered by scientists to account for their origins: The African hypothesis and the 'multi-regional' hypothesis.[11]

Except China, the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir is bereft of anthropological record about the occupation of the area by the humans. However, some significant cultural fossils have been found in Mongolia, Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan,

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7 Ibid., p. 39.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., pp. 40-41.

11 For African Hypothesis, see Horai *et al* "Recent African Origin of Modern Humans," pp. 532-36, and for 'multi-regional' hypothesis, see Franz Weidenreich, *Apes, Giants and Men*; M. H. Wolpoff, 'Multiregional' Evolution: The Fossil Alternative to Eden", in *The Human Evolution: Behavioural and Biological perspectives on the origin of Modern Humans*, ed. P. Mellars and C. Stringer, pp. 62-108.

which help us in reconstructing the history of the antiquity of man in these areas too. Some Mongolian sites have produced a series of pebble tools which have been dated to 1.48 million years B.P.[12] some sites of Tadjikistan have yielded pebble tools which give a date of 300000 years B.P. On the basis of typology these resemble the pebble tools of the Soan Valley of the Punjab and loess regions of China.[13] In China the chopping or pebble tools revealed by Choukoutient site date to 200000 years B.P.[14] In the north eastern Iran pebble belonging to 800000 years b.p. have been found at a site near Mashhad.[15]

The best known Paleolithic culture of Asia is Soan Valley (Punjab, Pakistan) which has revealed crudely made flake tools (called pre-Soan), pebble tools (called early Soan) and Acheulean hand axe. The earliest types date to 2 million years B.P, the pebble tools to 1.4 to 1.2 million years B.P. and the Acheulean hand axe have been dated about 700000 years B.P[16]

EMERGENCE OF CULTURE IN KASHMIR

Paleolithic Culture The archaeological investigations, carried out since Grinlinton found a 'hand made' boulder in the Lidder Valley in

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12 V.A. Ranov *et.al* , "Lower Paleolithic Culture" in A.H. Dani and V.M. Masson (eds), *History of Civilization of Central Asia*, Vol. I, UNESCO, 1992, pp 49.

13 Ibid.

14 Yen-Xian Li and Hong-Xiang Ji, " Discussion of the Natural Environment and its Changes at the time of Peking Man", *Vertebrate Pal Asiatique*, Vol. 19, 1981.

15 V.A. Ranov *et.al*, op.cit., 1992, p. 57.

16 B.R. Allchin, "Early traces of man in the Potwar Plateau, Pakistan, a report of the British Archaeological Mission", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 2, 1986, pp. 69-83; H. Randell and R.W. Dennell, "Dated Lower Paleolithic artifacts from Northern Pakistan", *Current Anthropology* (Chicago), Vol. 26., No. 3, 1985, p. 393. Vide, Aijaz A. Banday, " Antiquity of man in Central Asia: A Summary", in Mushtaq A. Kaw, (ed), *Central Asia Continuity and Change*, pp. 183-198.

1928,[17] have established the Stone Age culture of Kashmir on a firmer footing. Inspired by Grinlinton's observation that the boulder looked like 'almost hand made,' H. D. Sankalia and his team took up the field work of Lidder Valley in 1969 and not only confirmed the proposition of Grinlinton about the existence of early Paleolithic man in Kashmir but he went far beyond to make a starling observation that man lived in Kashmir some 5,00000 years ago.[18]This he says on the basis of technological and stratigraphical basis of the tools – a huge massive flake (255cm long and 10 cm broad) – he found in the Lidder Valley. According to him these tools are the earliest paleoliths in Asia; and he attributed them to first interglacial period saying that environmentally this period of glaciations was the best suitable period for man to be in the Kashmir Valley. It is interesting to quote Sankalia verbatim:

> Until recently it was thought that early man had not lived in the Kashmir Valley during any of the periods of Ice Ages. Evidence is now available that man had lived on the banks of the Liddar at Pahlgam at the height of about 7000 ft. either during the first interglacial period or during the second glacial. This was the time when his existence is indicated at five sites in the Punjab foothills. The climate then was congenial for man's habitation. Trees such as cinnamon, pine and oak grew in the Kashmir Valley as well as in the foothills. In these forests roamed elephants, tigers and other animals.
>
> The tools which indicate man's presence in this environment are huge massive flakes. These are made of blackish Panjal trap, a rock which forms the core of the Pir Panjal mountains. The flakes are found embedded in a conglomerate consisting of huge

17 John L. Grinlinton, "The Former Glaciation of East Liddar Valley, Kashmir" in *Memoirs of Geological Survey of India*, Vol. 49, pt. 2, 1928, p. 340.

18 H. D. Sankalia, *Prehistory of India*, p. 37.

boulders, pebbles, etc. These flakes would be the earliest tools of man found in India and Asia, if the writer's argument is accepted that they belong to the first interglacial in the Himalayas and might be dated to about 500,000 years ago.[19]

Sankalia and his team from Deccan college, Poona combed the area further and found a crude handaxe, six choppers and three scrapers from the area. These were categorized as early Paleolithic tools and assigned to middle Pleistocene age.[20]

A few chopper type tools and scrapers were also picked up at other places of the Valley, namely, Prang and Waswan in the Sindh Valley, Balapur in Shopian and from the upper reaches of Sukhnag to the east of Pir Panjal range.[21]

The lower Paleolithic culture of Kashmir, as elsewhere, was the handiwork of *Homo erectus*. The artifacts like scrapers and points have Middle Paleolithic affiliation. As the Middle Paleolithic culture of Europe, West Asia and North Africa is associated with the Neanderthal man,[22] it is not unlikely that in Kashmir too he was the architect of this culture.

Upper Paleolithic Culture

Unlike the Middle Paleolithic, the upper Paleolithic industry is blade based. During this period parallel-sided blades and flakes were used for making tools. The blades were ditched from long core by an

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19 Ibid, pp. 36-37.

20 Vide S. L. Shali, *Kashmir: History and Archaeology Through the Ages*, p. 550.

21 D. P. Agarwal, "A Report on Multidisciplinary Investigations in Kashmir: 1979-80," in *Man and Environment*, Vol. 9, 1981, pp. 631-639.

22 Vide, V.D. Misra, " A Brief Note on Indian Stone Age Archaeology" in G.C. Pande, *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, Vol. I, part I. *The Dawn of Indian Civilization (upto c 600 B.C)*, p. 131.

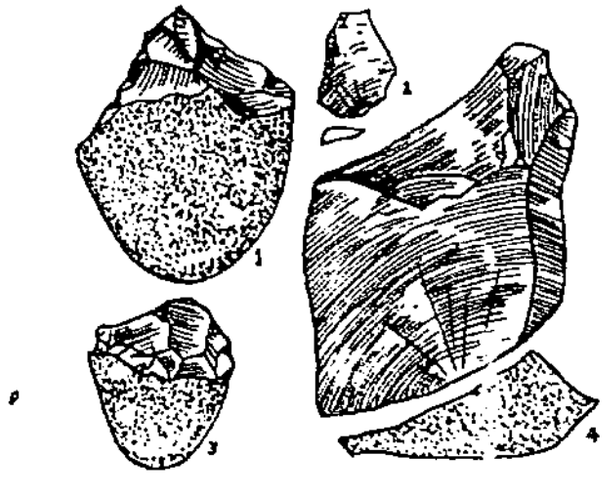


Fig. 1.1

Pebble tools from Karatau I, Tadjikistan.

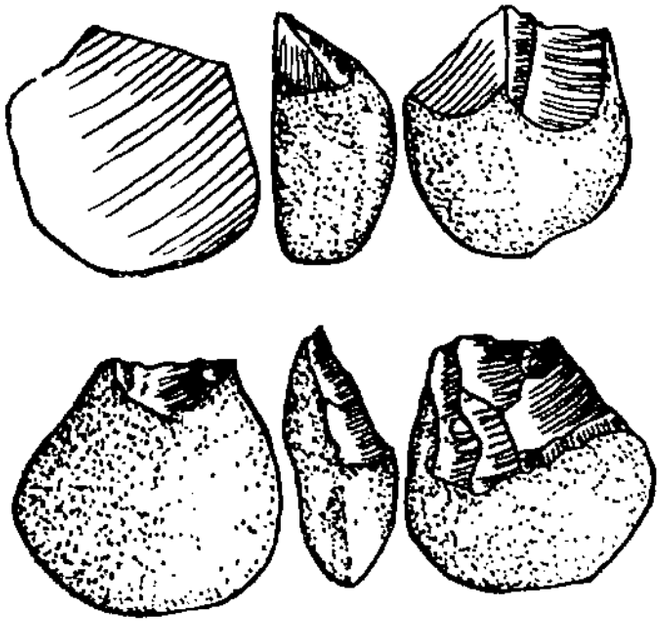


Fig. 1.2

Pebble tools from Ulalinka, Mongolia.

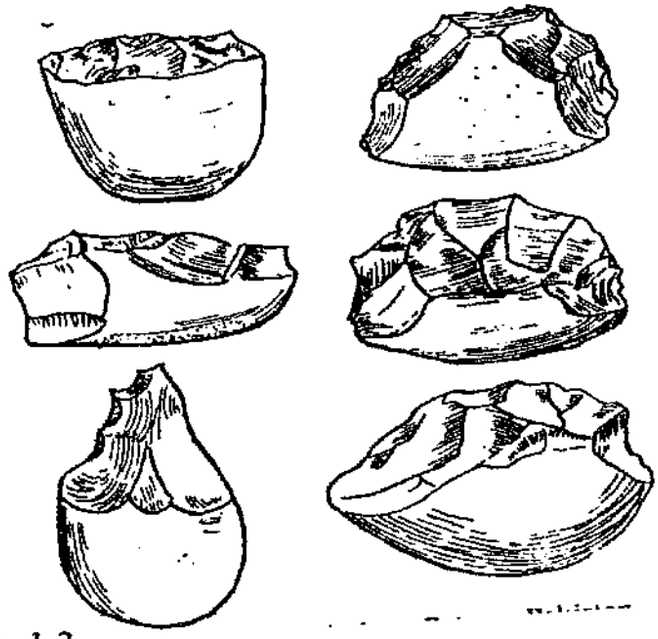


Fig. 1.3

Pebble tools from Potwar, Pakistan.

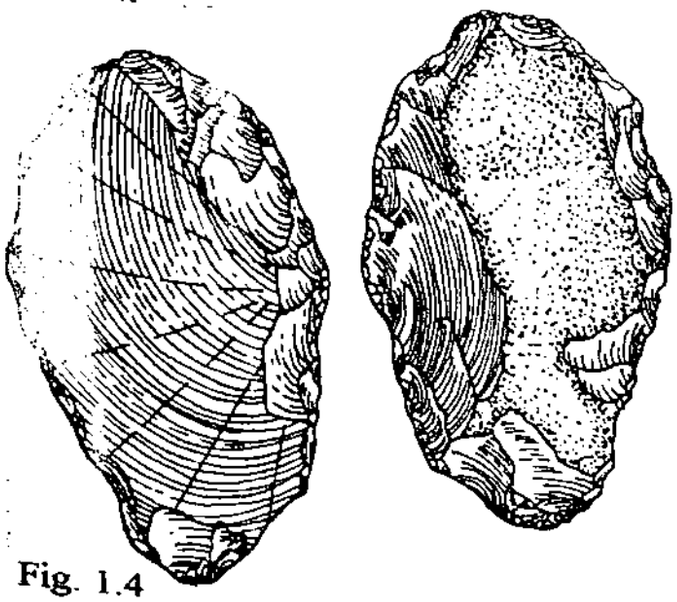


Fig. 1.4

Flake tools from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

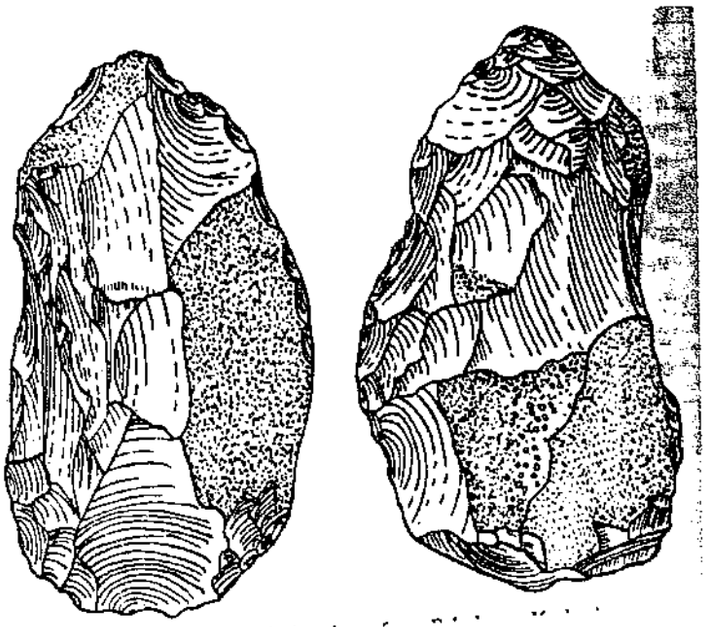


Fig. 1.5

Abbevillain hand-axe from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

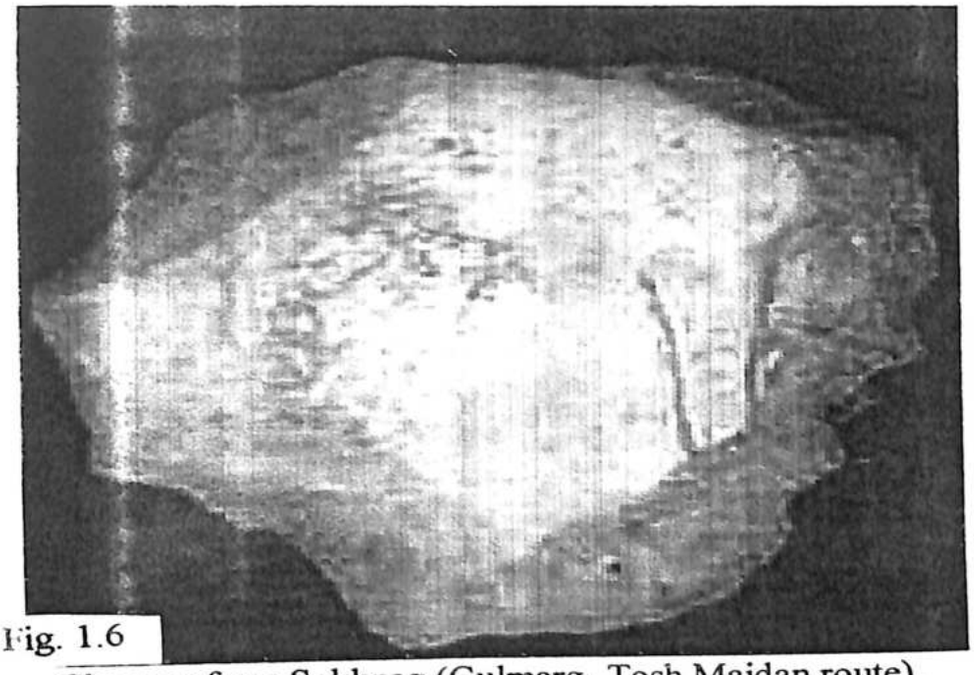


Fig. 1.6
Chopper from Sukhnag (Gulmarg- Tosh Maidan route), district Baramulla *(Courtesy S.L. Shali)*

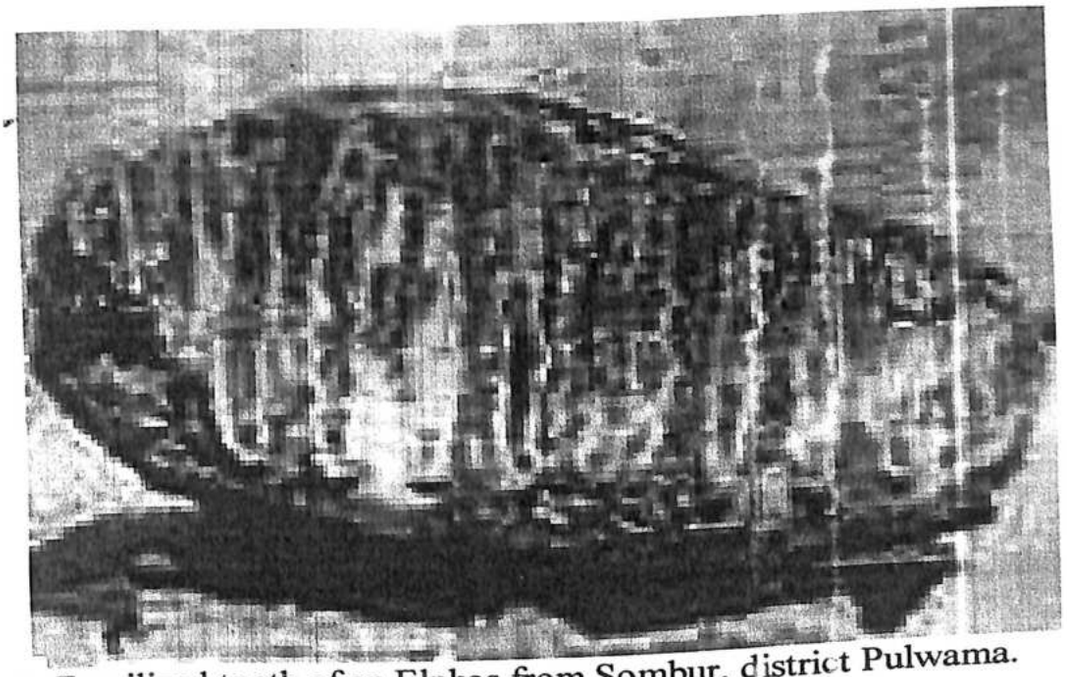


Fig. 1.7 Fossilized tooth of an Elphas from Sombur, district Pulwama.
(Courtesy S.L. Shali)

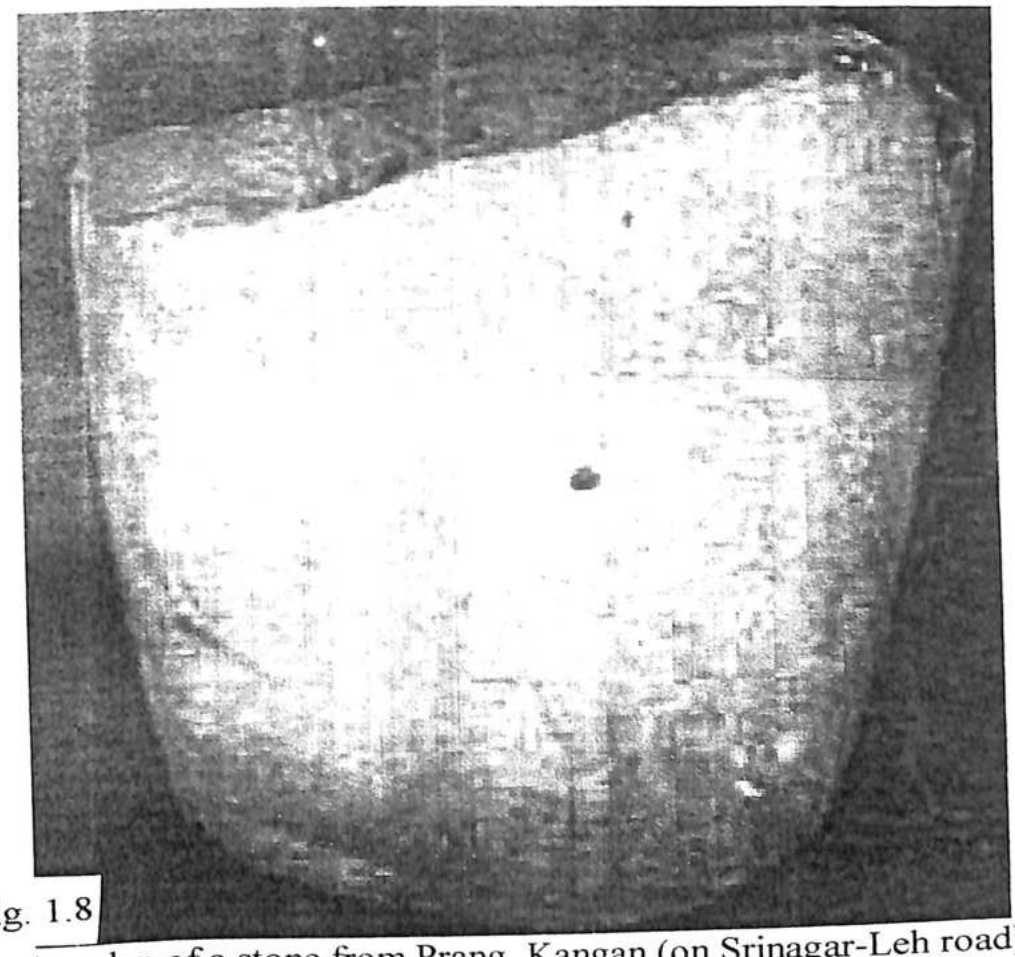


Fig. 1.8

An edge of a stone from Prang, Kangan (on Srinagar-Leh road) district Srinagar. *(Courtesy S.L. Shali)*

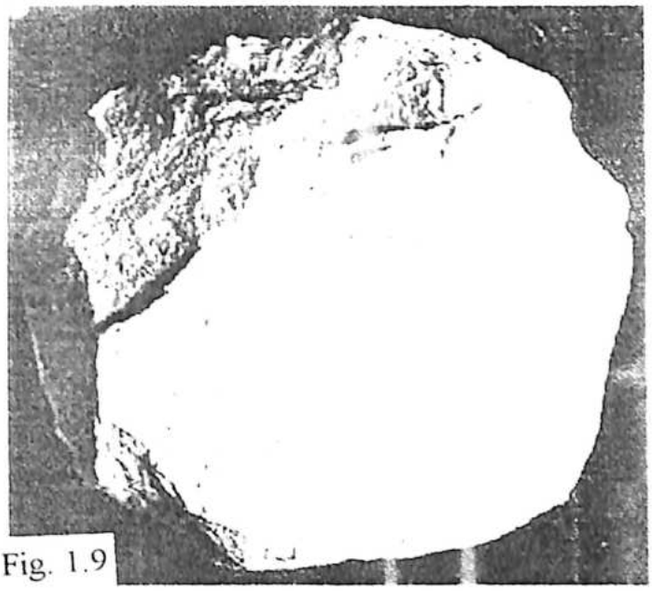
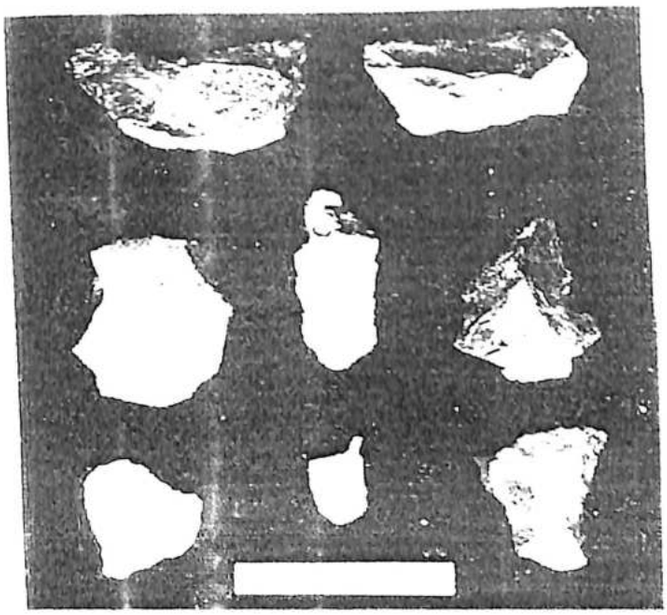


Fig. 1.9

Chopper-type tool, Balapura, Shopian, Kashmir.
(Courtesy S.L.Shali)



Lithic industry form Sombur, district Pulwama.
(Courtesy S.L.Shali)

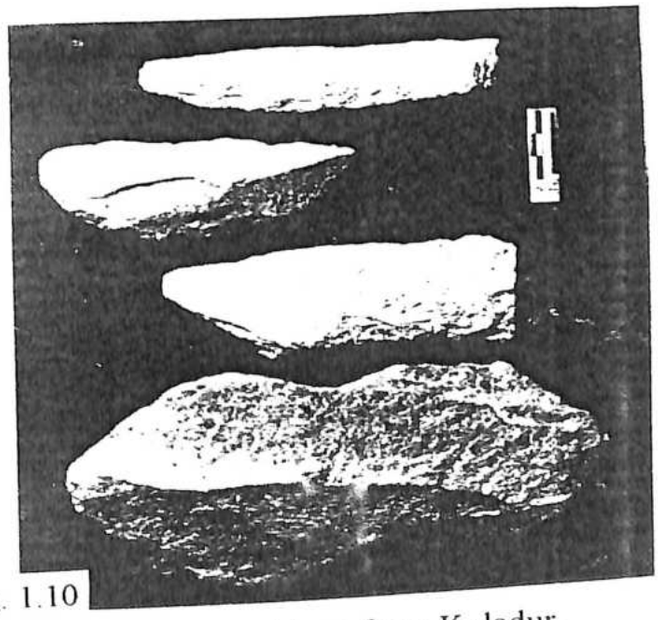


Fig. 1.10

Lithic assemblage from Kuladur, Tapribala (Pattan), district Baramulla.
(Courtesy S.L.Shali)

indirect percussion technique and the resultant blades were converted into different types of tools. The upper Paleolithic culture is associated with *Homo sapiens*.

In Kashmir the existence of this culture has been shown by a distinct blade and burin industry at Sombur. More than hundred artifacts made from Jasper, silicious limestone and trap has been collected. The principal tool types are: burins, points and borers. These tools are datable to 18,000 B.P.[23] Upper Paleolithic tools have also been encountered at many other places, namely, Kulladur, Bhatchak, Tapriballa and Huin in Baramulla district and at Khan Sahib and Habshah Sahib in Badgam district. The tools encountered at these places are represented by backed knives, elongated parallel-sided double scrapers and waisted tools. Grinders and pounders are also part of this industry.[24]

Absence of Mesolithic Culture:

The paleoclimatic researches have shown that around 10,000 B.P cooler conditions prevailed in the Valley.[25] This is the conventional starting point of Holocene (recent) period. The period witnessed excessive rains which resulted in the tremendous erosion of the land, forcing the people to move towards sub-Himalayan regions or the Gobi deserts of Central Asia. Such cold conditions must have also been responsible for the extinction of such animals like elephants or horses whose fossil remains have been obtained from the *Karewa*

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23 D. P. Agarwal, 'Foreword' to *Central Asia and Western Himalayas – A Forgotten Link*, ed. by G. M. Buth, Jodhpur, 1986.

24 Vide, Shali, op cit., p. 57.

beds.[25] On the archaeological side it is also substantiated by the absence of Mesolithic industry.

LIFE STYLE OF THE PALEOLITHIC MAN

We have seen that the early Paleolithic tools were located from the upper reaches of the Himalayas and Pir Panjal and the Upper Paleolithic tools were found on the plateaus that occupy half of the Valley. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the Paleolithic man first lived on the upper reaches of the mountains and then on the *Karewas*. As long as the Valley floor was completely under water, the man had no option but to live on the upper reaches. The shift from the mountain to *Karewa* life became possible because of the up thrusting of the Pir Panjal twice, shifting the lake to north and east side, which exposed deposits and fluvio-lacustrine deposits (*karewas*) on the south and south-west side.

The subsistence pattern of the early man also slightly varied between lower and upper Paleolithic periods. Since during the lower Paleolithic times we mainly come across big tools, it seems that the lower Paleolithic man hunted mainly big animals. On the contrary, during the upper Paleolithic times we come across assemblages of small tools, pointing to the fact that alongside hunting big animals, the early man now began to hunt small birds too.

As regards the relationship between Paleolithic human beings and their resources, the faunal remains give us some idea about their

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25 Rekha Dodia *et. al.*, "New Pollen Data from the Kashmir Bogs: A Summary" in *Climate and Geology of Kashmir*, p. 105.

26 Ibid.

substance pattern. In the Ice – Age elephants of the upper Siwalik type, deer and other mammals and birds inhabited lake shores and Valleys of Kashmir, where as the foothills were inhabited by large cats, elephants, horses pigs, hippopotamus and cercopithacoid monkey.[27] From the lower and upper *karewas* numerous plant invertebrate and vertebrate fossils have been found. The plant fossils include species of Acer, Barbaris, Rosa, Pinus and Picea. The animal remains include fresh-water shells, fish equus, hypselephas, hysudricus, bos, sivatherium, rhinoceros, cerves and sus.[28] As a matter of fact, there is a rich assemblage of animals both of indigenous and foreign origin. Horse and elephant migrated to India from Central Africa; and the wave of migration of most of the immigrant animals was along the north west borders. In the absence of any fishing tool, they might have been catching fish by means of making dams made of branches of tree or mud and stone. Grind stones found in the upper Paleolithic times must have been used for crushing the wild fruits.

The presence of burins, points and borers which have upper Paleolithic affiliation also show that now the man also started stitching the animal hides to cover his body.

Recently some caves have been found near Manasbal, which according to some archaeologists were dwelling places of the Paleolithic man.[29]

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27 H.D. Sankalia, "Early Man in Ice Age Kashmir" in *Science Today*, 416, 1969, pp. 16-26.

28 B.S. Kotlia, "Vertebrate Fossils and Palaeo-environment of the Karewa Intermontane Basin, Kashmir, Northern India" in *Current Science*, Vol. 54, No. 24,pp. 1275-1277, Dec. 20, 1985; B. S. Kotlia *et al.*, "Biostratigraphic Faunal Succession and Physical Dating of the Kashmir Karewas," paper presented at International Symposium on *Palaeoclimatic and Palaeoenvironment Changes in Asia during the last 4 Million Years*, Dec., 1986, Ahmadbad.

29 Ajaz Banday , "Palaeolithic Habitational Site at Mansbal, Kashmir: Recent Archaeological Investigation", in *Journal of CCAS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 95-96.

NEOLITHIC PERIOD

By about 5000 B.P climate again became warmer in Kashmir.[30] The climatic change was followed by the influx of people from the neighbouring world who were armed not only with sophisticated and effective hunting techniques but were also primitive farmers. With this Kashmir entered into the Neolithic Age, the remains of which are spread far and wide in the Valley.

Before we outline the main features of the Neolithic culture of Kashmir it seems pertinent to briefly summarize the salient features of the Neolithic culture. The term Neolithic was coined by Sir John Lubbock in his book *Prehistoric Times* (first published in 1865). He used this term to denote an age in which the stone implements were more skillfully made, more varied in form and often polished[31] Later on V. Gorden Childe brought practicing of agriculture to the centre stage of Neolithic culture. And it is precisely this development to which Childe referred to as the *Neolithic Revolution*.[32] Miles Burkitt[33] gives a more comprehensive definition of Neolithic Culture. According to him the following traits should be considered to represent the Neolithic Culture:

a) Practice of agriculture.

b) Domestication of animals.

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30 Rekha Dodia *et al*, op. cit, p.105.

31 Prehistoric Times, pp. 2-3.

32 V. Gorden Childe, *Man Makes Himself*, pp. 59ff.

33 M.C. Burkitt, *Our Early Ancestors*, pp. 50-57.

c) Grinding of polished and stone tools and.

d) Manufacture of pottery.

The concept of what is Neolithic has been undergone some change in recent years. And as per present definition the main characteristics of Neolithic Culture are:

i) Domestication of plants and animals

ii) Ground stone tools

iii) Emergence of Village communities based on sedentary life and

iv) The manufacture of pottery.

However, we come across many Neolithic cultures where we find the absence of one or the other feature.

NEOLITHIC CULTURE OF KASHMIR

Nearly three dozen Neolithic sites have been identified in Kashmir.[34] But only two sites, Burzahom and Gufkral, have been excavated so far.[35] The findings obtained from these widely famous sites have been analysed by a number of scholars.[36] A brief summery of these studies is given below.

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34 B.K.Thaper, " Fresh Light on the Neolithic Cultures of India: Archaeological Prespective of India Since Independence," in *Puratattva*, No, 13-14, p. 37.

35 IAR, 1960-61,p.11; 1961-62, pp.17-21, 1979-80, pp.19-25.

36 See B.M. Panday (1970), " The Neolithic of Kashmir: New Discoveries," in *Anthropologist*, 17, 1-2, pp. 25-41; B.M. Panday(1973) " Neolithic Hunting Scence on a Stone Slabe from Burzahom, Kashmir" in *Asian Prespective*, No. 14, pp. 134-8; R.N.Kaw, " The Neolithic Culture of Kashmir," in D.P.Agrawal and Dilip K. Chakrabarti, in *Essay in Protohistory*, pp. 219-28; B.K. Thapar, " Neolithic Problem in India," in *Indian Prehistory*, p. 89; K.N. Dikshit, " The Neolithic Cultural Frontiers of Kashmir" in *Man and Environment*, vol. VI, 1982, p. 31; A. Basu *et al*, *Human Remains from Burzahom;* A.K. Sharma, " Excavations at Gufkral," in *Puratattva*, No. 11, pp.19-25; " Animal Bones from Gufkral and Evidence of Human and Non- Human Activities," in *Puratattva*, No. 12, pp31-36; B.K. Thapar, " Fresh Light on the Neolithic Cultures of India ,

The Neolithic culture of Kashmir is datable from 2800 B.C to 1500. It is however important to mention here that the Neolithic culture was not beset with inertia, instead some significant changes took place during this one and a half millennium, period, marking one phase off from the other. Accordingly the archaeologists have divided the Neolithic culture of Kashmir into three phases: phase I from 2800 to 2520; phase II, 2520 to 2000 and phase III, from 2000 to 1500.[37]

Phase I: Aceramic Neolithic

(2800-2520 BC)

During the aceramic phase, the subsistence economy of the Neolithic people appears to have been based on farming, stock raising and hunting. Bones of ibex, bear, sheep, goat, cattle, wolf, and Kashmiri stag have been obtained. Of these sheep and goat were domesticated. Among the cereals, grains of wheat, barley and lentils were recovered. The people lived in underground pits, shallow, deep circular, oval, rectangular or square. The natural loessic soil, locally known as *wader,* was cut into for obtaining these pits. Along the periphery of the mouths of these pits the presence of post-holes was noticed, suggesting that the pits used to be covered overhead. The absence of hearths inside the pits indicates that they were used only for living in. Evidence of plastered floors, hearths and shallower pits was

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Archaelogical Prespective of India Since Independence, in *Puratattva*, Nos. 13 and 14, pp. 37-44; G.M. Buth and R.N. Kaw, Plant Husbandry in Neolithic Burzahom, Kashmir, in *Current Trends in Geology,Climate and Geology of Kashmir and Central Asia,* New Delhi, 1985; G.M. Buth, Farooq A. Lone and Maqsood Khan, "Neolithic Links" in G.M. Buth (Ed.) *Central Asia and Western Himalayas – A Forgotten Link.*

37 G.L. Possehl and R.C. Rissman, India–*Chronologies in Old World Archaeology,* Vol. I, p. 480.

also recorded in the close proximity of these pits. Probably the shallower pits with painted floors were used as storage bins.

The Neolithic people of Kashmir during the aceramic phase used tools and weapons fashioned on bone and stone. Of the bone tools found mention may be made of points, needles, harpoons and scrapers. The stone assemblage comprised axes, drills, picks, points, pestles, pounders, querns and ringstones (mace-heads).

Phase II: Ceramic Neolithic (A)

(2520-2000)

While the pit dwelling, substance economy based on farming, stock raising and hunting and the tool technology of the aceramic phase continued, the period is marked by an important development i.e. the introduction of the earliest indigenous hand made pottery. The ceramic assemblage comprised three principle fabrics– thick coarse grey ware, fine grey ware, and gritty dull red ware; the first one being predominant. The main pottery types included long necked jar, bowls and basins. Bowls and basins are characterized by ring or disc bases. On the bases of these pots a variety of mat impressed designs were noticed.

Animal remains represented sheep goat, cattle, wolf, dog, red deer, Ibex and bear. Of these sheep goat and cattle were domesticated. A short horned variety of cattle is also met with. These, along with red deer, Ibex and bear were hunted. Presence of bones of dogs suggests that this animal was also domesticated during this period. Besides the plants of phase I the period witnessed the introduction of

common pea – a new item introduced during this period. The remains of peach, walnut and apricot are also reported from Burzahom I.[38]

A sizable number of bone and stone tools have been obtained. The bone tools included harpoons, needles, awals, spears, points etc. The main stone tools comprised axes, chisels, adzes, pounders, mace-heads (ring stones), points and picks.

38 Farooq. A. Lone, Maqsooda Khan and G. M. Bhat, *Palaeothonobotany*, p. 8.

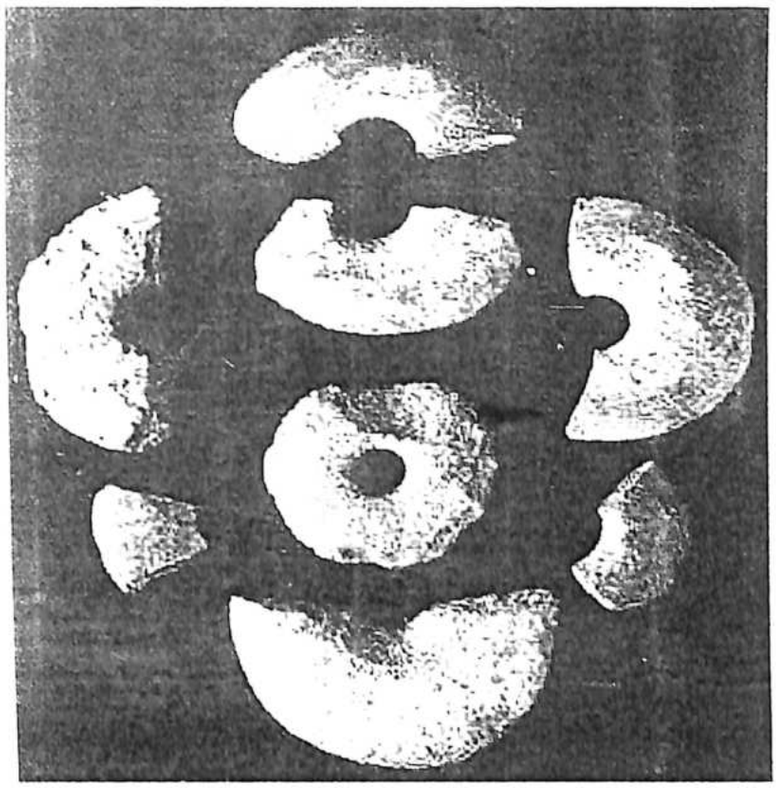


Fig. 1.11 Mace-head from Burzahom, district Srinagar.
(Courtesy S.L.Shali)

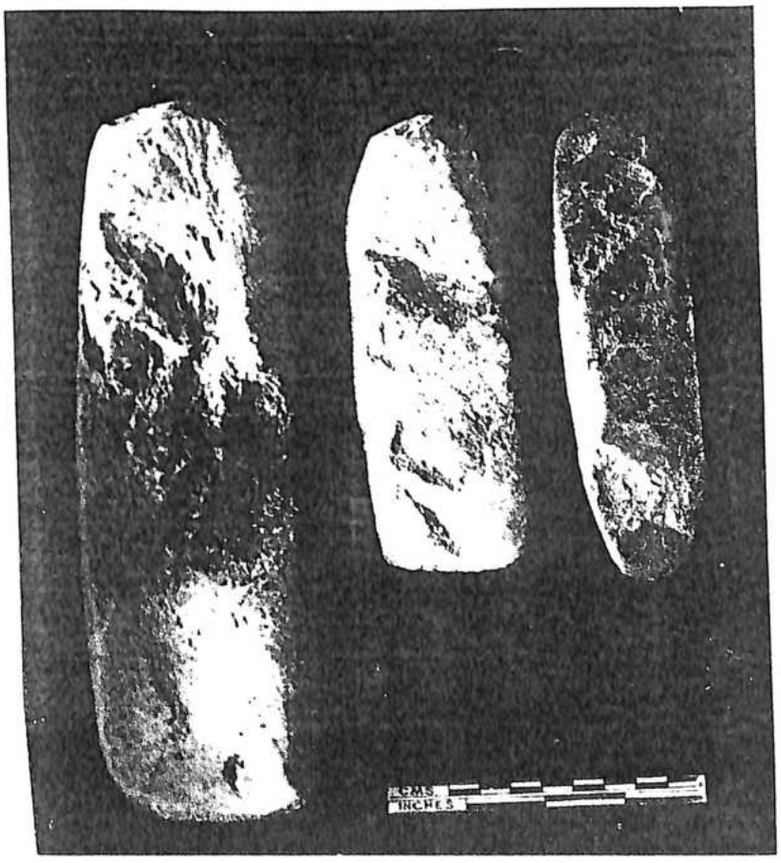
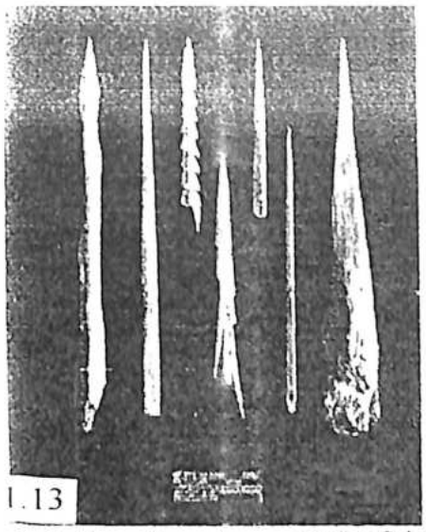


Fig. 1.12 Stone axes from Burzahom, district Srinagar.
(Courtesy S.L.Shali)



F 1.13

[illegible] tools from Burzahom, district Srinagar.
(Courtesy Shali)

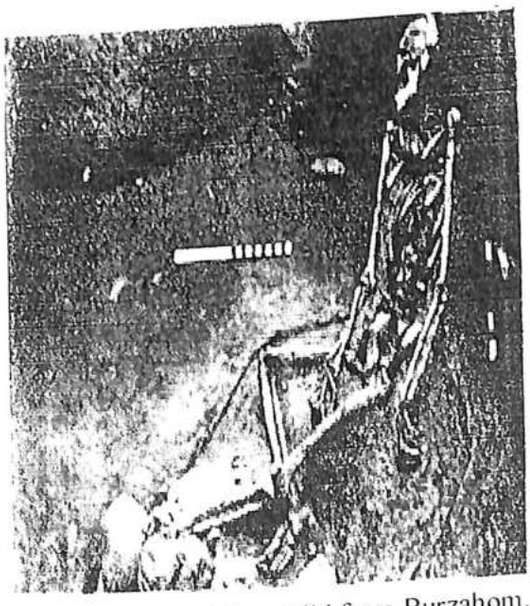


Fig. 1.14 Human burial with a child from Burzahom.
(Courtesy Shali)

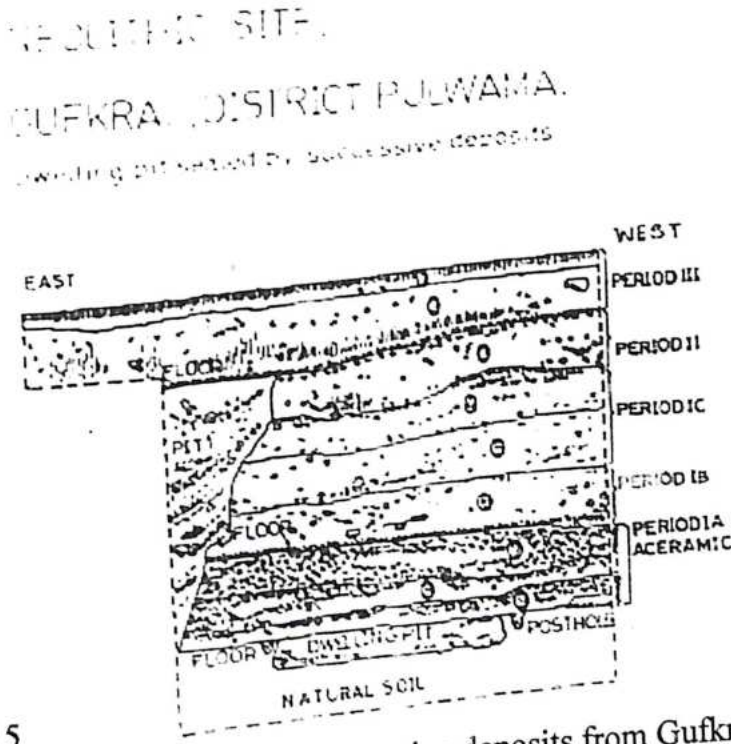
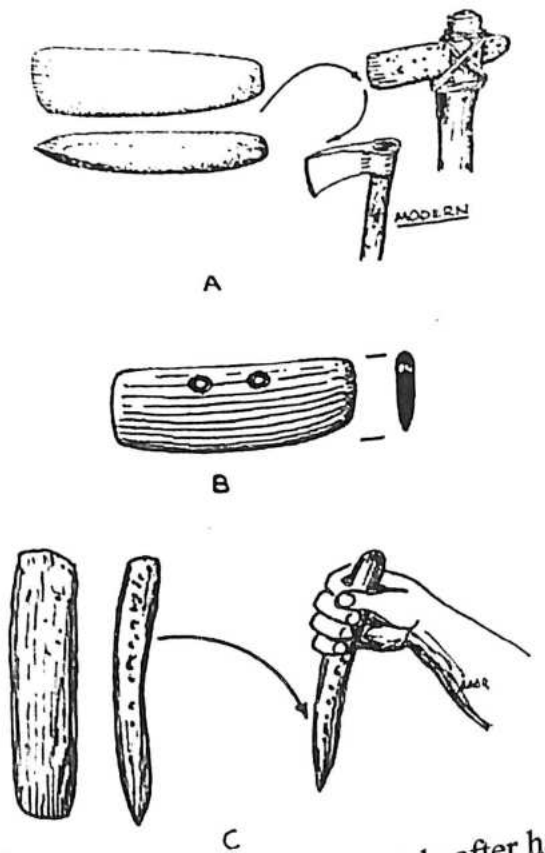


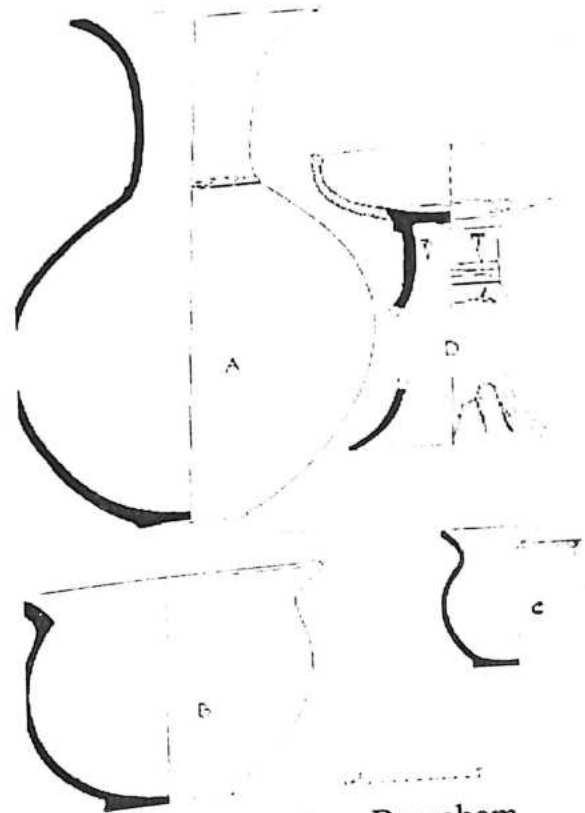
Fig. 1.15

Dwelling pit sealed by successive deposits from Gufkral, District Pulwama *(Courtesy S.L. Shali)*



A. A stone celt working style after hafting and its modern survival.
B. An agricultural tool harvester
C. Digging tool hoe and its use after hafting

Fig. 1.16 *(Courtesy S.L. Shali)*



Pottery types from Burzahom *(Courtesy S.L. Shali)*

Fig. 1.17

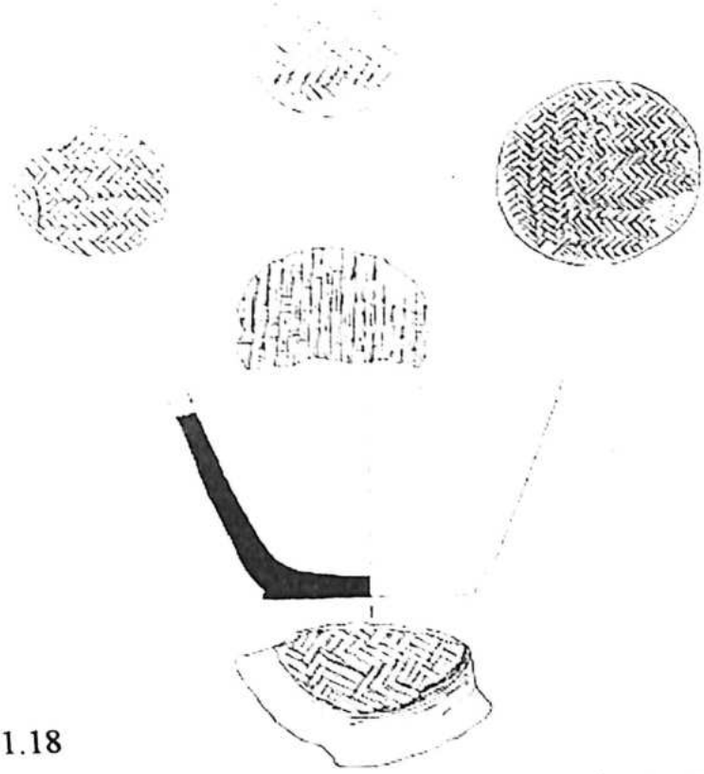
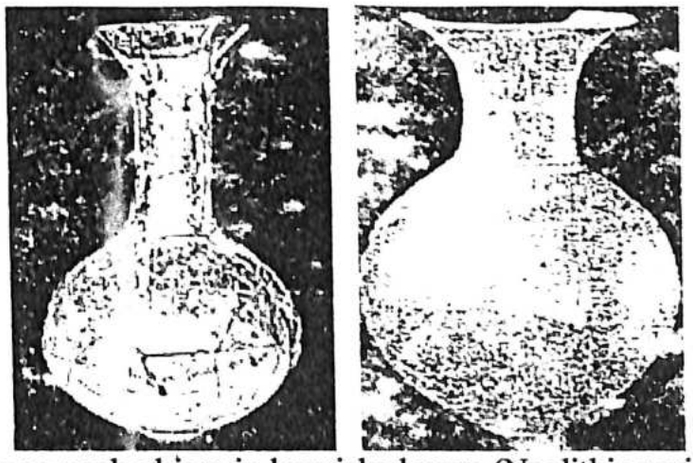


Fig. 1.18

Designs of mat impressions on the basis of pots and manufacturing techniques *(Courtesy S.L. Shali)*



Long necked jars in burnished ware (Neolithic period II) From Burzahom excavations *(Courtesy S.L. Shali)*

Fig. 1.19

Technique of long-necked jars *Courtesy S.L. Shali)*

Fig. 1.20

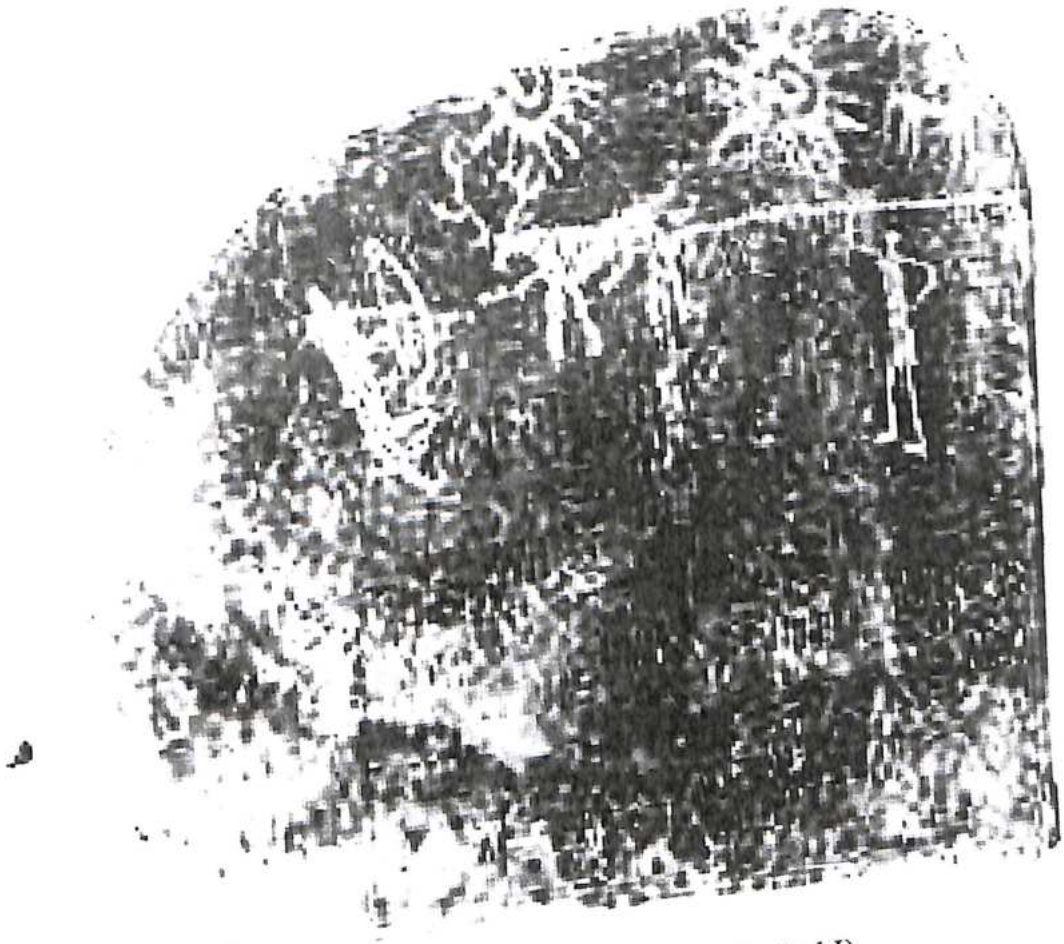


Fig.1.21

Prehistoric life style from Burzahom (Period I).

(Courtesy S.L.Shali)

***Phase III: Ceramic Neolithic* (B)**

(2000-1500):

The last phase of the Neolithic culture of Kashmir exhibits both continuity and change. Underground pit and chamber dwelling was abandoned; overground dwelling units made of mud or brick or both are unearthed. Besides sheep, goat and cattle, bones of pig and fish, horse, hedgehog, rodents and beaver have also been obtained. While the cultivation of wheat, barley, lentil and common pea continued, the period saw the introduction of some fruit crops, namely, grapes, vine and almond.[39]

Stone objects, though less prolific, included celts, points, querns, ponders, balls, double holed harvesters, spindle whorls and stone engravers. One of the double-holed harvesters was marked with incised decoration on one side. Bone tools were still in much demand. These are, however, better finished than of the earlier periods. Among the most important tools mention may be made of points, arrow-heads, awals, spatulas and harpoons. Other finds of the period included terracotta bangles, cowry shells and comma shaped pendents.

The ceremac assemblage of the period comprised grey-ware, rough and dull thick red ware, black burnished ware and wheel thrown black burnished ware. Few examples of red gritty ware were also obtained. Besides the pottery types of the earlier period, long necked jars and dish-on-stand with triangular perforated designs on stem region were the new introductions. Decorations comprised mat and cord-impressed bases, reed impressions, pinched designs and incised oblique designs on the neck region. A sherd bearing graffiti was

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39 Sankalia, op. cit., pp. 300-303; *Indian Archaeology–A Review*, 1968-69, 1-10.

obtained from Gufkral in this phase. By the end of the Neolithic phase at Burzahom, a wheel thrown red ware pot containing 950 beads fashioned out of agate and carnelian, with excellent workmanship, was obtained. Another wheel thrown red ware painted pot was found depicted with a horned figure. The occurance of a few copper arrowheads, a ring, bangles and a pin in this phase are also interesting finds.

This phase has furnished evidence for getting in touch with the artistic activity of the people. From Burzahom have been obtained two broken stone pieces with engravings. One piece depicts a hunting scene in which a stag with antlers is being attacked both from the rear and front. The hunter from the rear is attacking the animal with a long spear while his counterpart in the front is attacking with an arrow. The upper portion of the slab depicts two circles with emanating rays and a dog-like animal. The circle may represent the sun. The engraving on the other slab, though incomplete depicts a hut and the hind portion of an animal. It is interesting to note that both the pieces were obtained from one and the same structure.

Excavations at Burzahom have furnished interesting data regarding the burial practices prevalent in this phase. The burials were mostly found within the settlements. These were oval in outline and were dug out either in house floor or compounds. The sides of these graves were found plastered with lime. Both primary and secondary burials were practiced. Red ochre has been found sprinkled over the human bones. Burials of some animals like dog, wolf and ibex have been found. From one grave skeletal remains of dogs have been found.

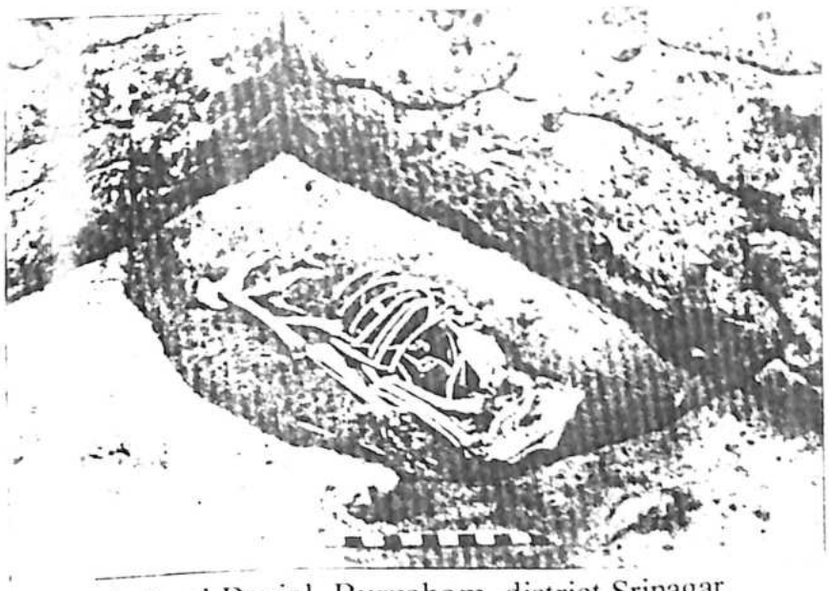

Fig. 1.22 Animal Burial, Burzahom, district Srinagar.
(Courtesy R.C. Agrawal)

Fig. 1.23 Animal Burial with antler's horn, Burzahom, district Srinagar.
(Courtesy R.C. Agrawal)

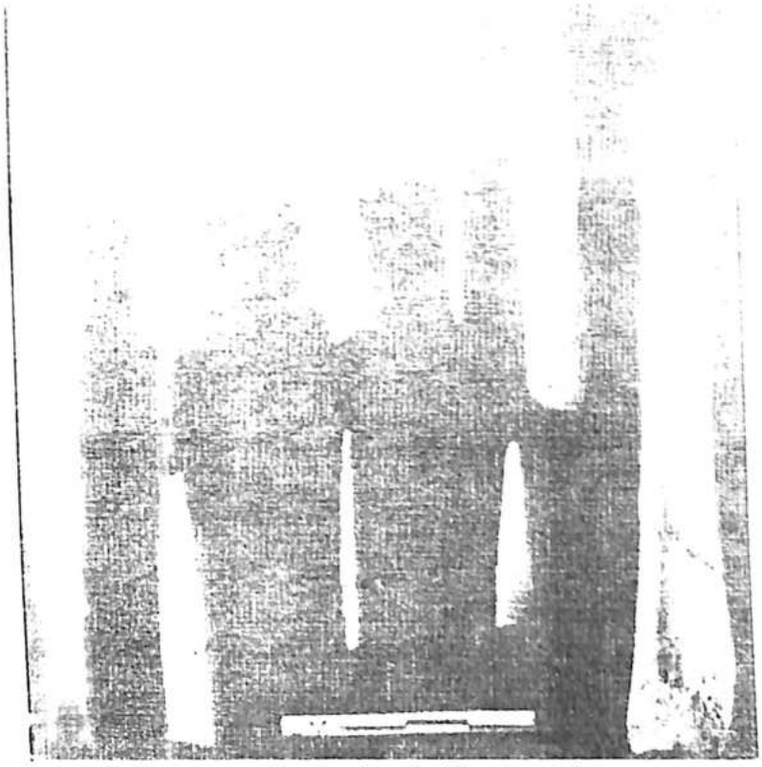

Fig. 1.24 Bone tools Gufkral, district Srinagar
(Courtesy R.C. Agrawal)

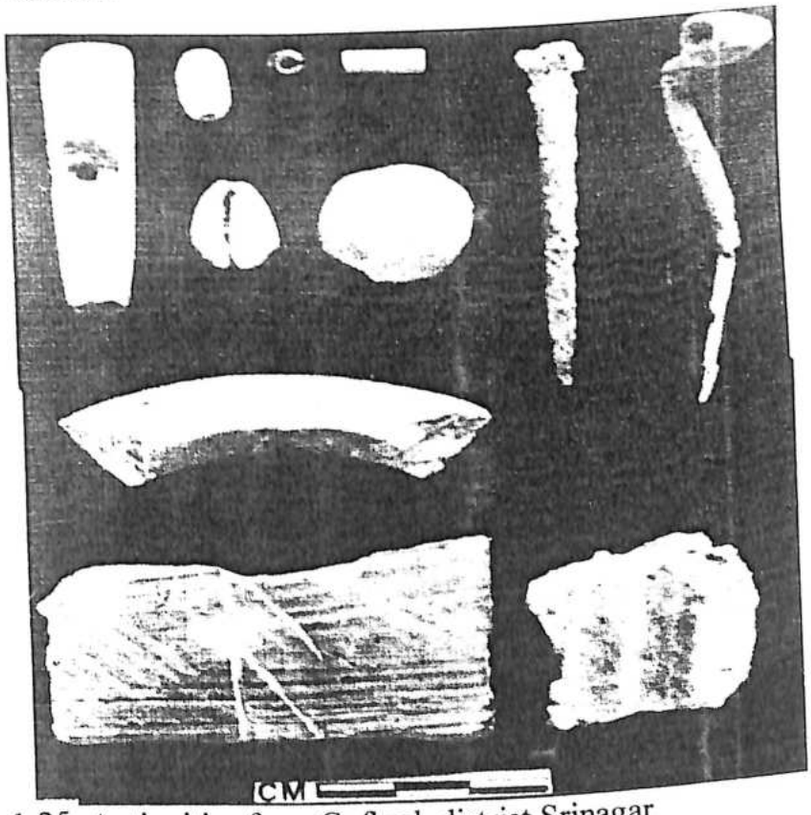

Fig. 1.25 Antiquities from Gufkral, district Srinagar
(Courtesy R.C. Agrawal)

MEGALITHIC PERIOD (1000 B.C-700 B.C)

The successors of the Neolithians in the Valley were what may be called Megalithians who erected huge memorial stones, the remains of which have been found at more than a dozen of places.[40] At some places these are overlying the Neolithic settlements as at Burzahom, Gufkral, Hariparigom, Begund, Brah etc. while at some places, namely, Waztal, Tarakpur, Sombur, Pampur, Dadasara no such relics are found. A date ranging from 1000 B.C to 700 B.C can be ascribed to Megalithic Period of Kashmir. Some salient features of the material life of the Megalithic period of Kashmir as gleaned from the habitation sites and burials are outlined below.

Houses

The people still preferred to live on *Karewas* as most of these settlements have been found on the Neolithic sites which were exclusively situated on *Wadurs* (Persian *karewas)*. This was most probably the result of a deeply embedded habit of mind as the people were accustomed of living on the *Wadurs* for thousands of years. Partly it was also the result of the fact that the low lying areas were still either covered by water or were marshy. Like their immediate Neolithic predecessors the houses of the megalithic people were made of mud and brick, rubble walls or both with thatched roofs.

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40 The information on the megalithic period is borrowed from Shali, op. cit., Sharma, op. cit., and G.M. Buth *et al*, " Antiquity of Rice and its introduction in Kashmir,'' in *Central Asia and Western Himalayas*, op. cit., pp. 109-113.

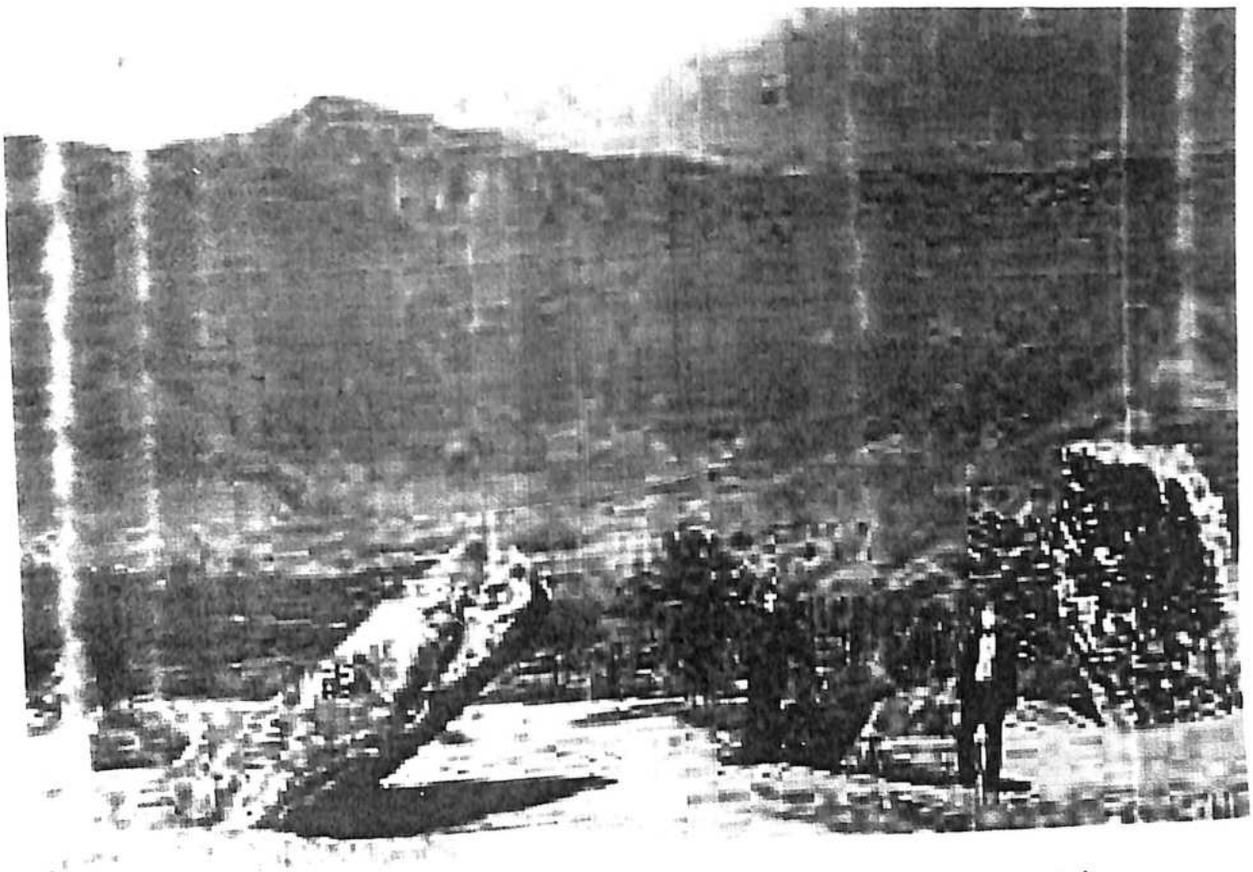

Fig. 2.1 General View of Neolithic-cum-Megalithic site, Burzahom, district Srinagar.
(Courtesy S.L. Shali)

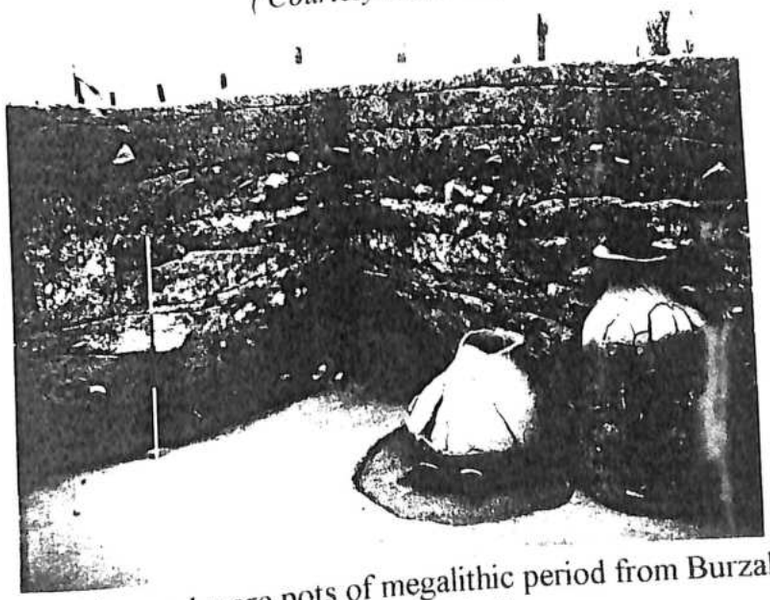

Fig. 2.2. Gritty red ware pots of megalithic period from Burzahom
(Courtesy S.L. Shali)

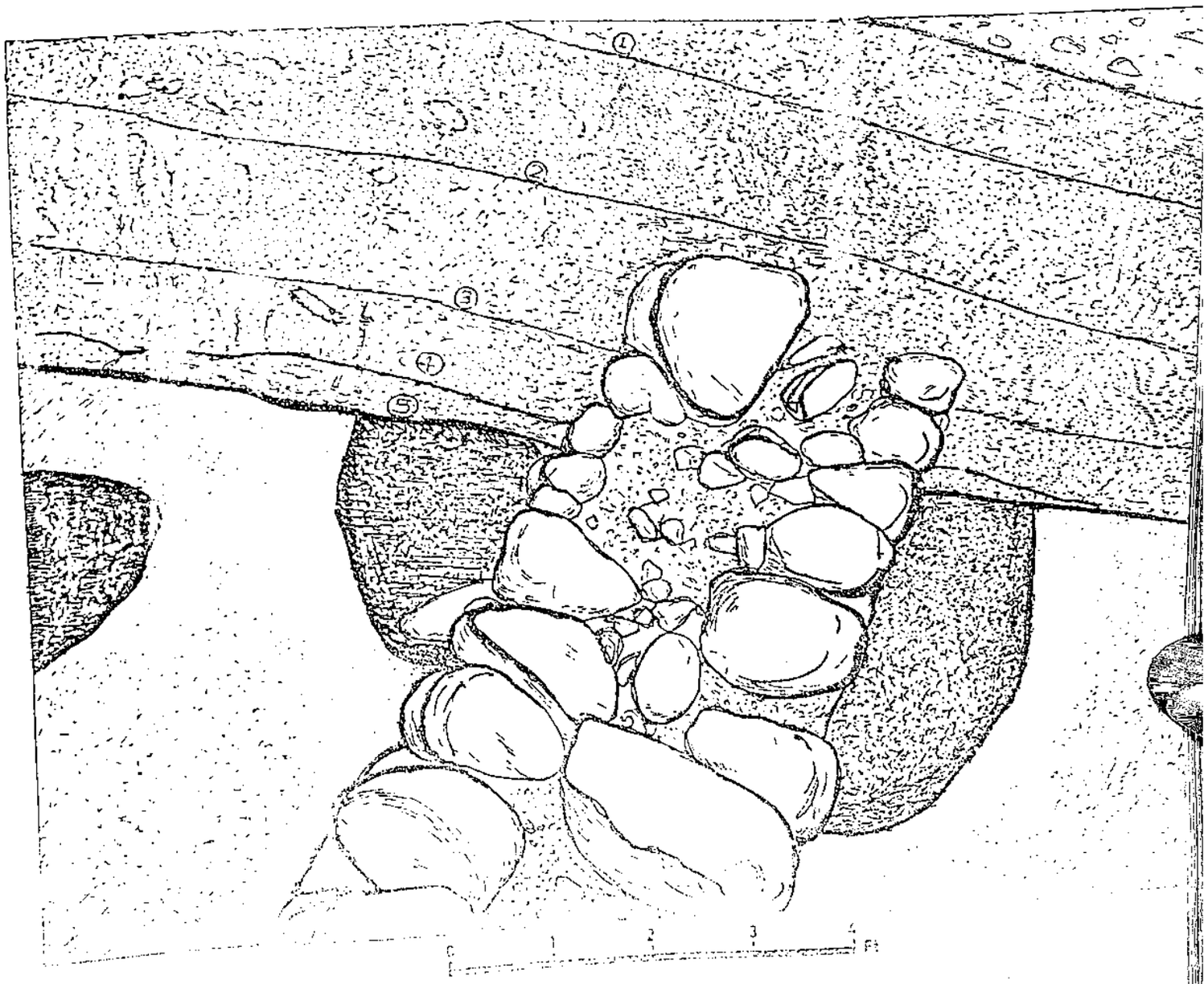

Fig. 2.3 Rubble wall, megalithic period, Burzahom.
(Courtesy R.C. Agrawal)

Tools

The most important feature with far reaching consequence was the knowledge and use of iron technology. Gufkral excavations revealed a good number of iron objects in the form of points and rods. A fine cobbler's awl was also recovered. Copper rings and wire are also found in the cist graves of the period. The bone and stone tools continue from the Neolithic levels but are comparatively less in number and bear polish of a low order. It may, however, be mentioned that alongside the decrease in the percentage of bone tools, we find a new development i.e. the bone tools of the period are marked by handles made mostly from the tibia of a sheep or goat.

Agriculture

Paleobotanical researchs have shown that the period witnessed the introduction and diffusion of the technology of irrigated agriculture as remains of rice have been found at megalithic Gufkral. Considering the fact that the per unit productivity of rice is far greater than the rain fed crops– wheat, rice, barley and millets–cultivated heretofore, the introduction of rice cultivation ushered in a new era in the overall history of Kashmir. It improved the standard of life of the people and marked an onset of urbanism. The rice cultivation also released the process of the migration of the people from *karewas* to low-lying areas.

Animal husbandry

Bones of sheep, goat, dogs, pigs and fowl have been found at the megalithic sites, leading to the archaeologists to believe that these animals figured among the domesticated animals of the period.

Ceramic Industry

The people of the period had developed a high standard in ceramic industry. Wheel made gritty red ware was widely used. The main representative shapes are storage pits with bulbous bodies of a coarse fabric, rimless jars, bowls, long-necked jars, globular jars etc. Black and red ware usually associated with the Megaliths in the south is conspicuously absent.

Burial Customs

While at other places megaliths are associated with skeletal remains, the same is not true of Kashmir which, therefore, presents a puzzling problem about the nature of these megaliths. At Burzahom both human and animal burials were found. The sprinkling of red ochre over the bones disappeared in the megalithic phase. The animal burial indicated that burying the pet animals was a common feature during megalithic period. Bone fragments of Himalayan ibex, dog, sheep, goat etc. were deposited in the pits.

A variety of cist graves has recently been reported from a high plateau on the left bank of river Lidder near Pahalgam.[41] The graves are like box chambers with orthostats on the four sides surmounted by cap stones. The grave goods included, pottery, copper rings and wire, shells and other such objects. In one of the smaller pots with flaring rim, smoothened neck and sides, a tooth and some isolated bones probably of a human being were also reported. This probably shows that the dead were exposed for excarnation and the bones were collected in parts and interred in burial.

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41 Asha Hanley, " Kists in Kashmir," in *Times of India Magazine*, December 2,1979.

Monuments

Megaliths are the most remarkable pre-historic monuments. They include menhirs and alignments, stone circles, hanges and many kinds of chamber tombs. The megaliths in Kashmir are represented by Menhir type of large stones. These are natural stones, roughly shaped and generally tapering towards the top. They are of varying sizes. The longest one at Gufkral is 6.55mts. long; and the length of the smallest size of Menhir is only 2.90 mts. Mostly these upright stones are found in groups and in exceptional cases are located alone. A group of Menhirs at both the excavated sites of Burzahom and Gufkral form a semi circle and as such fall under the alignment type of Megaliths. Some of these carry cup marks also.

What do these Megaliths signify? Are these Megaliths the precursors of the latter tombs aimed at commemorating the memory of the tribes– the tribes which lived separately at separate places? Were they installed to symbolize the greatness of tribes both in the eyes of the contemporaries as well as in the eyes of the succeeding generations? Or were these ceremonial stones which were installed by pre historic people to represent the movement of the sun and the moon in relation to the sky? Or are they religious structures, regarded as symbols of extraordinary power of the forces of nature?

The archaeologists and ancient historians have not been able to solve this riddle. This is the puzzling because in Kashmir megaliths are not associated with any skeletal remains which is unique phenomenon as far as this cultural trend is concerned. But whatever the purpose might have been for installing these big stones upright, their transportation and installation required maximum physical and

mental concentration, alluding to the fact that some powerful force –either mundane or religious – was behind this memorable activity of the pre historic man.

EARLY HISRORICAL CULTURAL REMAINS

The Neolithic-Megalithic period as evidenced at Burzahom and Gufkral came to an end sometime around 800-700 B.C. The post-megalithic remains encountered at these sites included thin bright red ware with such forms as jars, bowls, miniature pots, lamps and vases, a few shreds of black painted red ware with stamped designs, crude bone tools, finely polished bone handle, ring stones, pounders and a terracotta circular disc.

The most significant information about the early historical period has, however, come from Semthan excavations.[42] The finds give a sequence of cultures from the middle of the first millennium B.C. up to late medieval times. The important evidence, however, is about hitherto three unknown cultures of Kashmir, namely pre-NBP, NBP and the Indo-Greeks, though some Indo-Greek coins were found earlier at some places in the Valley.

Pre-Northern Black Polished Ware: (700-500B.C)

This period is marked by regular building activity. This is indicated by successive floor levels, albeit no house plan could be observed. Post holes and evidence of thatched roof with prominent

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42 *Indian Archaeology- A Review*, 1979- 80, p. 32; 1980-81, p. 21.

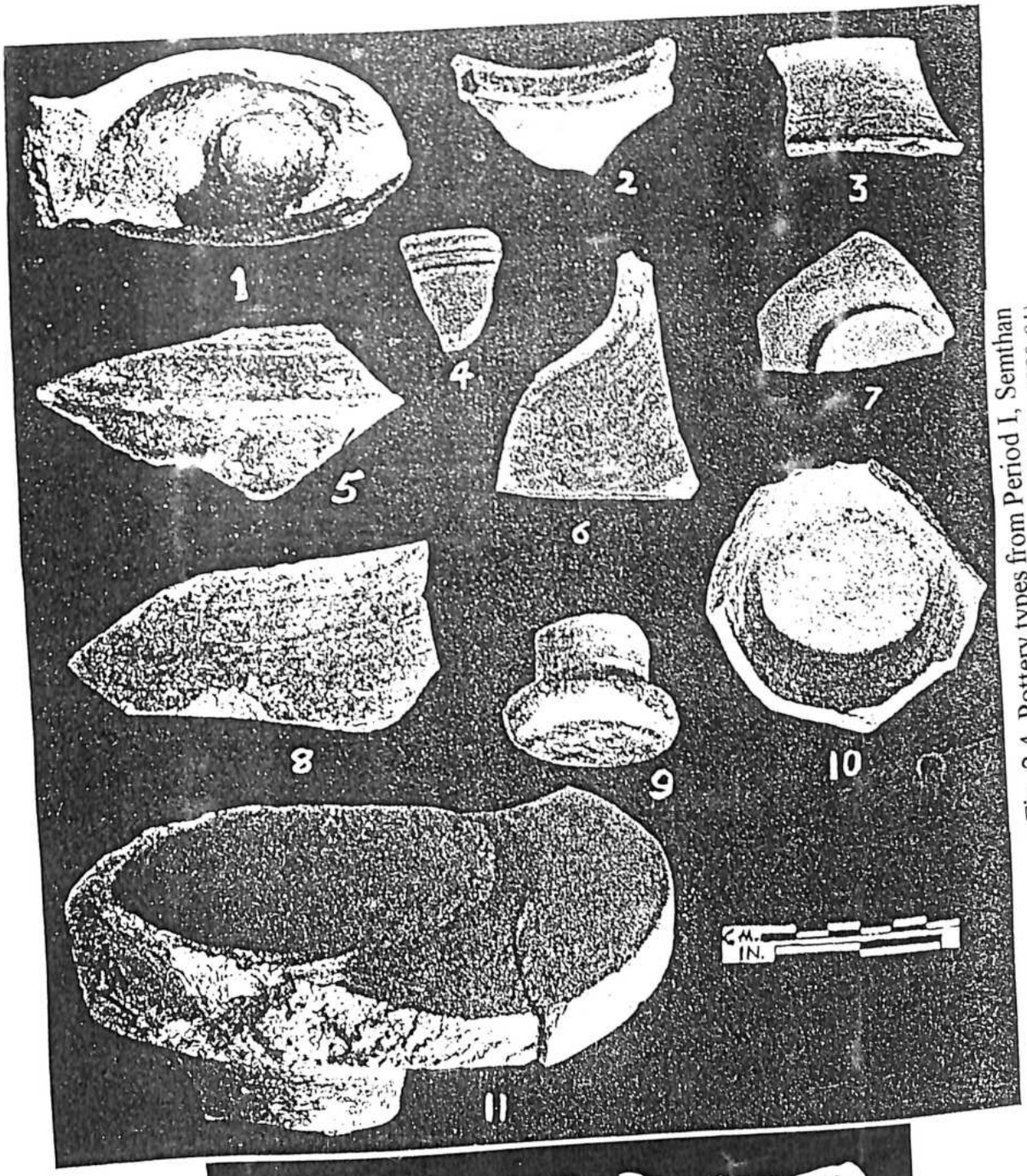

Fig. 2.4. Pottery types from Period I, Semthan
(Courtesy Indian Archaeology-A Review 1980-81)

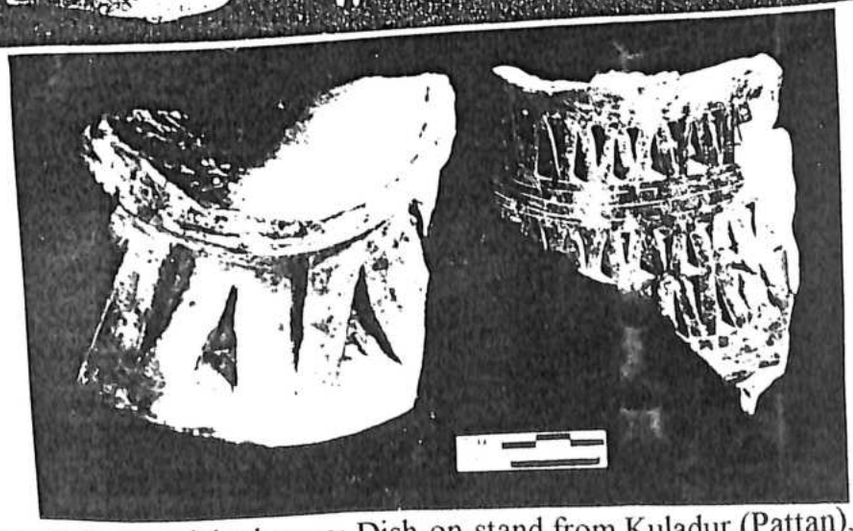

Fig 2.5. Burnished ware: Dish-on-stand from Kuladur (Pattan), Baramulla *(Courtesy S.L. Shali)*

grass impression on it were met with. It probably shows that the earliest inhabitants of Semthan were living in hutments. Important antiquities include terracotta and bone beads and several pieces of copper. An iron arrow-head and iron slag were also recovered.[43]

The pottery of this period has been classified into following five fabrics:[44]

Fabric A:

Fabric A represented a sturdy red ware of fine paste, made carefully on the wheel and treated with a fine slip. The colour ranges from orange red to plum red. The most striking type is a composite form of a bowl on a stand. Both are centrally hollow. It also carries an addition of a ring of thick ledge splayed out like a dish luted round the bowl. The other shapes include variety of bowls, flasks, jars and knobbed lids.

Fabric B:

Fabric B consists of fine thin red ware mostly slipped and burnished. It is made of fine clay on wheel and the slip varies from brownish red to deep red. The common types include vessels, vases, bowls and carinated cooking vessels.

Fabric C:

Fabric C is thick ochrous red ware made on wheel and the shapes are represented by wide-mouthed vessels, small vases and pots with globular bodies (Kashmiri chod)

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43 G..M. Buth, R.S. Bisht and G.S. Gaur, "Investigation of Palaeobotanical remains from Semthan,'' in *Man and Environment*, Vol. VI, 1982, pp. 41-45.

44 *Indian Archeology – A Review*, 1980-81, p. 32.

Fabric D:

Fabric D is represented by gray ware of thicker quality and ordinary grey ware.

Fabric E:

Fabric E is handmade, ill fired and a crude ware of poor quality containing stony material.

Interesting evidence of grains was also found from the excavations:[45] the remains of this period have shown the presence of cereals like rice (Oriza sativa), wheat (*Triticum sphaerococcum*) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and pulses such as mung and lentils and endocarps like the apricot and hackberry. Among the remains of wood found are pine (*pinus wallichiana*), cedar (*cedrus deodara*) and walnut (*juglans regia*). The large quantity of cereals is that of wheat followed by barley and rice, the former was perhaps the main crop. Blue pine might have been used as building material and firewood.

Leaving the details to the following chapter, suffice it say that the evidence from the cultural phase of period I of Semthan definitely points to the arrival of a new set of people. It is significant to mention that recently an ancient habitation site has been spotted known as Dard Kot situated on the highest terrace of village Huthmur overlooking Lidder on the Anantnag Pahalgam road. An exciting discovery was of plain grey ware under the remains of a structure consisting of tile pavement enclosed by a diaper pebble wall.[46] The plain grey ware as

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46 G.M. Buth, R.S. Bisht and G.S. Gaur, op.cit.
Art Treasures of Jammu and Kashmir – A brochure, Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museums, J and K Government, Srinagar, 1988.

we know, is anterior to painted grey ware.[47] The new immigrants were probably Aryans who entered Kashmir via Swat.[48]

According to the Greek historians, the Persian king Cyrus subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus and the Kabul Valley, especially the Gandharians (6th century B.C). In the Behistun inscription of Darius (522-486) Gandhara is mentioned as one of the provinces under his suzerainty.[49] Generally speaking, Gandhara denotes the region comprising the modern district of Peshawar and Rawalpindi; but sometimes it also included Kashmir. It may be mentioned that Hecataeus of Miletus who was a contemporary of Cyrus and Darius refers to Kaspapyros i.e. Kashmir as a Gandharic city.[50] It is therefore, not unlikely that Kashmir would have come under the sway of Achaemenian rule though a clear evidence in this regard is lacking.

At the time of Alexander's invasion Kashmir seems to have been under the rule of the king of Abhisara (Hazara).[51] In the initial stages, he helped the chief of Assakenos against Alexander by offering military assistance but afterwards submitted to the latter. It is said that when Alexander at the close of his campaign was returning from India, he left the king of Abhisara to rule over Kashmir with the state of Arsaces added to his kingdom.[52]

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47 See J. P. Joshi and Madhu Bala, "Manda: A Harappan site in Jammu and Kashmir" in G. L. Possehl, (ed), *Harappan civilization: A Contemporary Perspective*, pp.

48 Josh, J.P. and Madhubala, "Manda: A Harappan Site in Jammu and Kashmir", *Harappan Civilization,* (ed.) by Gregory L. Possehl, 1979, T.N. Khazanchi and K.N. Dixit, 'The Grey Ware Cultures of Northern Pakistan, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab', *Puṭatattva,* No. 9, New Delhi, 1977-78, pp. 47-51.

49 S. Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 2-6.

50 Vide, S. C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 35.

51 McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 69, 111-112.

52 Ibid.

According to Kalhana, there ruled in Kashmir in the earliest times fifty-two rulers.[53] However he refers to the names of only four of them. The four names which according to Kalhana survived are Gonanda I, his son Damodara I, Damodara's wife Yasovati and the latter's son Gonada II.[54] Kalhana connects these kings with some of the legends of the Mahabartha which can be easily dismissed as a myth.[55] Gonada II was followed, according to Kalhana, by thirty-five kings whose names also perished.[56] They were followed by eight kings named respectively as Lava, Kusa, Khagendra, Surendre, Godhara, Survarna, Janaka and Sacinara.[57] However, nothing is known about the historicity of any one of them.

The king next mentioned by Kalhana is Asoka.[58] To be sure, he is the first historical name, which we meet in the Rajatarangini. Although Kalhana mentions him as a local ruler,[59] it is now proved beyond doubt thanks to Semthan discoveries that he is none else but the Mauryan Asoka (273-232 BC). The Mauryas were succeeded by Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Greeks by Sakas and Indo-Parthians. The details about Kashmir under the Mauryas, Indo-Greeks, Sakas and Indo-Parthians have been given in the following chapters.

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53 *Rajatarangini*, tr. M. A. Stein, Vol. I, Book. I, 10.
54 Ibid, pp. 10-14.
55 Ibid, Book. I, p. 15.
56 Ibid, Book. I, P. 15.
57 Ibid, pp. 15-18.
58 Ibid, p. 19.
59 Ibid.

IMMIGRATIONS, SETTLEMENTS, INTERACTION AND THE FORMATION OF EARLY KASHMIR CULTURE

Having narrated the evidence provided by archaeology on different phases of pre and early historic Kashmir, the crucial question remains: Did the Kashmir culture originate locally or did it come into being mainly because of exogenous influences? To provide a satisfactory answer to this question we have to search for answers to the following crucial questions.

1) What is the antiquity of cultures in Kashmir?
2) Is there a continuous sequence of cultures in this area?
3) What is the basic character of the earliest Kashmiri cultures and how far does it tally with that of the early cultures of its neighbourhood?
4) How do we visualize the semi-nomadic migrations from the neighbourhood into Kashmir?
5) How far archaeology, philology and anthropology converge to suggest a pattern behind the formation of early cultures?

Archaeology has no doubt shown a remote antiquity of the appearance of man in Kashmir as well as the unique tools–unique in Asia– manufactured by him. It is also true that there was a widespread upper Paleolithic culture in Kashmir around 15000 B.C. But what is

problematic is that between 15000 B.C and 2900 B.C (when beginnings of Neolithism appeared in Kashmir) there is archaeological vacuum in Kashmir. Continuity breaks after upper Paleolithic period. There is no report of a well-stratified Neolithic settlement in Kashmir. There are no finds of Mesolithic or proto-Neolithic period. The Neolithic sites do not show evolutionary changes through time before the neolithization of the culture. None of the sites has yielded microlithis. The absence of a stone blade industry is significant: there is something abrupt and alien at the sites. Although the presence of aceramic phase at Gufkral points to outochatonous character of the Neolithic culture, one is immediately forced to withdraw the pointing figure as the antiquity of this phase is too late to be imagined from a culture which had such a well developed upper Paleolithic around 15000 B.C., and in whose neighbourhood Neolithism had begun not later than 7th millennium B.C – the neighbourhood whose upper Paleolithic culture was contemporaneous to the upper Paleolithic of Kashmir.[1]

How to explain the archaeological vacuum of Kashmir between 15000 B.C and 2900 B.C or how to explain the abrupt beginning of Neolithism in the Valley or in other words why despite the presence of sequential Paleolithic cultures, Mesolithic culture is missing and the roots of the Neolithic culture of Kashmir have to be searched elsewhere. For an answer to these mutually interrelated questions, we have to turn to the paleoclimatologists and hear what they say about climatic changes in Kashmir around 10,000 B.P. According to the recently conducted palaeoclimatic researches cooler conditions

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1 For example Mehargarh. For details, see Jarrige and Lechevallier, "Excavations at Mehrgarh – Baluchistan: Their significance in the Prehistorical context of the Indo-Pakistan Borderland" in *South Asian Archaeology*, VI, pp. 463-535.

prevailed in the Valley between 7000 B.C and about 3300 B.C.[2] The period witnessed excessive rains which resulted into a tremendous land erosion, forcing the people to move to sub-Himalayan regions of the Gobi deserts of Central Asia.[3] Such cold conditions were also perhaps responsible for the extinction of such animals like elephants or horses whose fossil remains have been obtained from the *Karewa* beds.[4]

With the improvement of weather around 3000 B.C the history of human settlements started afresh in Kashmir after a gap of about four thousand years. And this time it was the settlement of Neolithic people who immigrated into Kashmir from the neighbouring lands situated immediately on its northern and western borders – the areas with which Kashmir had all along intimate relations and which were comparatively better placed to inter-act with bigger civilizations, namely, Chinese, Central Asian, Mesopatamian, Iranian and early Harappan.

The question can be genuinely asked: on what basis do we say that Kashmir was colonized by the Neolithic people who lived on its northern and western borders? Our assertion is based on two fundamental facts: One that there is close affinity between the culture of Kashmir and the cultures of its immediate neighbourhood situated on its northern and western borders. Second, the antiquity of these neighbouring cultures is much older than that of Kashmir. The details to substantiate our argument are given below.

The first thing that we see is that the earliest phase of the Neolithic of Kashmir was aceramic which extended between 2900-2200 BC. It may be mentioned that in this respect Kashmir is not an

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2 Rekha Dodia *et al.*, "New Pollen Data from the Kashmir Bogs: A Summary," in *Climate and Geology of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 105.

3 Ibid.

exception. By contrast, the Valley was surrounded by the sites, which had passed through aceramic Neolithic phase long before Kashmir started with it. The important sites of this category are Kile Gul Muhammad I, Mehargarh I, Gumla I and Baleli mound.[5] The pre ceramic phases of Kile Gul Muhammad, Mehargarh, and Gumla are dated 4980-3760 BC, 7th millennium BC, and pre 2940 BC respectively.[6] It seems that aceramic Neolithic people of Gufkral immigrated into Kashmir from some nearby aceramic Neolithic sites like Gumla which continued to be aceramic till late times.[7] However, the aceramic Neolithic antiquity of Kashmir may go slightly beyond 2900 BC if a site with aceramic Neolithic assemblage is discovered in the immediate north or west of Kashmir. After all, the immigrants from the borderlands, situated on the north and west of Kashmir, would have preferred nearer *Karewas* rather than the one's like Gufkral which were distantly situated. Gufkral settlers were perhaps among the relatively latter immigrants drawn from aceramic Neolithic sites situated in the Valleys of the Himalayas or located on the Potwar Plateau.

Another important feature of the aceramic and ceramic I of Neolithism of Kashmir is dwelling pits. Archaeology has discovered many sites close to the boarders of Kashmir with these what may called 'earth houses'. The nearest parallel of Kashmir Neolithic dwelling pits is at Sarai Khola, the settlement situated about 3kms south west of the early historic city of Taxila. The site is located on the Potwar plateau

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4 Ibid.

5 Fairservis (1956), Excavations in the Quetta Valley, Western Pakistan," in Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 45, pt. 2, p. 349; Dani (1970-71), "Excavations in the Gomal Valley," in *Ancient Pakistan*, No. 5.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

which is situated close to the western borders of Kashmir. The excavations have revealed the presence of several pit dwellings during Neolithic occupation of the site.[8] Evidence of dwelling and storage pits have also come from Swat Valley where the site called Loebanr has revealed dwelling pits contemporary to pit dwelling phase of Neolithic Kashmir.[9] Like Kashmir these pits were cut in the natural soil and were circular or circular-oval in plan.[10] Another important site close to the western boarders of Kashmir to yield dwelling pits is Lewan situated 23 kms south of Bannu city. The dwelling pits discovered from the site are, like the Kashmir pit dwellings, round, rectangular and irregular in shapes.[11]

The presence of red-ochreous painted floors is conspicuously noticed in aceramic phase and ceramic phase I of Kashmir. This practice is also found at many Neolithic sites of West Asia,[12] Central Asia[13] and in Indian sub-continent at Mehargarh.[14] However, the Gufkral and Burzahom cultures can not be linked with any of these cultures, because chronologically they are widely separated from each other. The nearby contemporary sites having this culture trait still

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8 *Pakistan Archaeology*, Nos 7 and 8; Allchin and Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*, p. 110.

9 Stacul, G (1977), "Dwelling and Storage Pits at Loebanr III (Swat, Pakistan) 1976 Excavation Report" in *East and West*, vol. 27, pp. 229-235.

10 Ibid

11 Durrani (1981), "Indus Civilization: Evidence West of Indus," in A.H. Dani (ed.) *Indus Civilization: New Perspective*, pp. 134-35; F. R. Allchin and R. Knox (1981), "A Preliminary Report on the Excavation at Lewan, 1977-78," in H. Hartel (ed) *South Asian Archaeology*, 1979, pp. 241-244.

12 J. Mellaart (1975), *Excavations at Hacliar*, 2. Vols, Vide Shashi Asthana, *Pre-Harappan Cultures of India and the Borderlands*, p. 25; P. Singh, *The Neolithic Culture of Western Asia*, pp. 68, 105, 186.

13 S.P. Gupta (1979), *Archaeology of Soviet Central Asia and Indian Borderlands*, vide Asthana, op. cit., p 35; Masson and Sarianidi (1972), *Central Asia: Turkmenia before the Achaeminids*, p. 36.

14 Jarriage and Lechevallier (1979), op. cit.

awaits for the archaeologists' spade. Yet considering the strong linkage of Kashmir Neolithic with Neolithic of its neighbourhood and the fact that by all means Kashmir is a secondary rather than primary Neolithic zone, the presence of such cultures using red ochreous painted floors near its boarders seems a reasonable inference.

A significant finding of the Neolithic Kashmir which maintained its presence throughout the period is the bone tools. During the aceramic phase the bone tools were made in the form of needles, points, harpoons, awls, piercers, scrapers and arrow heads. Long before Kashmir we come across a wide spread bone industry in its neighbourhood especially at Mehargarh, Rana Ghundai, Anjira, Jalilpur, Gumla, Sarai Khola Loebanr and Aligrama (in Swat Valley).[15] While the manufacture of bone awls, points and needles was a common place phenomenon, Sarai Khola bone tool included chisels, perforators, buttons, combs, hair dividers, pressure flakes etc.[16] The only form of the bone tools not found so far in the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir is harpoon. However, it was a common tool used by the fishermen of Central Asia, Russia, Siberia, Japan and China.[17] The latter obviously diffused it to Kashmir through many routes via Central Asia and Tibet.

The stone tools, namely, adzes- axes, drills, picks, points, pestles, pounders, querns and ringstones have been yielded by almost all sites located on the boarder lands of Kashmir especially the one's situated in the Swat Valley.[18]

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15 Ibid; E. J. Ross (1946), p. 296; Fairservis (1956), p. 233; DeCardi (1965), p. 101; Mughal 1972, pp. 117-124, Dani 1970 -71, pp. 84-85; Halim 1972, pp. 20-22; Casal 1961, p. 230.

16 Halim, op. cit.

17 Andress Lommel, *Prehistoric and Primitive Man*, 1966, 9. 65.

18 For details see Asthana, op. cit., pp. 200-204.

Wheat, barley and lentil cultivation which started in Kashmir in the very first phase of its Neolithic culture had begun in the remote past in the neighbouring Baluchistan. The evidence of wheat and barley cultivation at Mehrgarh, right from its aceramic Neolithic phase, shows that Baluchistan had emerged one of the two first settled communities in South Asia where agriculture was practiced in sixth-fifth millennium B.C.[19] Besides Mehrgarh, Swat Valley, represented by Rehman Dheri, Sarai Khola and Loebanr, had also a long history of the cultivation of wheat, barley and lentil.[20]

With regard to animal husbandry, the Noelithic man carried with him a strong tradition of domesticating sheep and goat which had a long tradition in West Asia and other neighbouring civilizations[21] though according to Asthana at Mehrgarh 'domesticated cattle predominated in comparison to sheep and goat. '[22]

After about three hundred years since the Neolithic people occupied Gufkral *karewa*, we find either some new people coming and settling in the Valley or the early inhabitants further extending their contacts. This is evident from some new introductions around 2520 B.C., inaugurating a new phase of Neolithic culture. The new introductions were hand made pottery, pea cultivation and domestication of some new animals. Whether some new people came or contacts were extended, one thing is clear: the direction of immigrations and contacts remained the same. If the change occurred because of the fresh immigrations, the fact remains that the immigrants belonged to the

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19 Costantini, "The Beginning of Agriculture in the Kachi Plains: The Evidence of Mehrgarh," in B. Allchin (ed.) *South Asian Archaeology*, 1981, pp. 29-33.

20 Durrani (1977), p. 2; 1981, p. 135; Allchin and Allchin, p. 115.

21 Asthana, op. cit., p. 191.

22 Ibid.

same ethnic, culture and language group to which the early settlers belonged to. That is why they settled with the early inhabitants without any conflict as is shown by the Gufkral cultural sequence. Moreover, the early culture was religiously maintained. For example, *inter alia*, they too were pit dwellers as is shown not only by Gufkral but also by Burzahom which was occupied afresh during this period. In the event the new introductions were made by establishing fresh contacts, still the direction of the contacts remained focused towards the traditional lands bordering the north and west of Kashmir. This is substantiated by a strong affinity between this culture phase of Kashmir and the contemporary cultures of Potwar region and Swat Valley represented by Loebanr, Aligrama and the other sites.

The handmade pottery of this phase comprised three principal fabrics – thick coarse grey ware, fine grey ware and gritty dull ware. The shapes represented are globular jars, bowls, basins and dish-on-stand with mat impressions on the bases. Referring to the close affinity between the potteries of Kashmir and those found at different sites of Swat valley and Sarai Khola I, Bridget and Raymond Allichin observe "The coarse and burnished grey and brown wares of the early Swat sites recall in general terms those of Burzahom and Saria Khola, and lead us to believe that all belong to a single complex."[23] In the Swat Valley, Loebnar III has black grey burnished pottery. The pottery is coarse and gritty and has basket impressions at the base.[24] The same type of pottery is reported from period III at Ghaligai (in Swat Valley). Stacul writes that at Ghaligai (strata 17 and 16) the vases recovered are handmade, of a very textured paste. The colour of the paste is grayish and the bottom

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23 Allchin and Allichin, p. 116.

bears mat impressions.[25] A grey vase with an ovoid body and mat impressions on the base has been reported from Buktara I.[26] Stacul says that "similar vases, mat impressed on the base, handmade, with rudimental grey paste, have been found in Burzahom."[27]

Mughal has compared the pottery of period I at Saria Khola with Burzahom pottery. According to him the main similarity between the potteries of Saria Khola and Burzahom is that they are handmade and have basket impressions at the base.[28] Coiled mat impressions on the base of some pots also occur in the early pottery at Gumla, Lewan and Mehrgarh.[29]

Other notable introductions of the Neolithic phase II of Kashmir are cultivation of pea and domestication of cattle, fowl and dog. The presence of two beads of precious stones out of which one was carnelian is also noteworthy.

It is significant to note that from the excavations at Loebanr III have come besides wheat and barley, rice, lentils and the field pea (*Pisum arvense*).[30] Another exciting find is a grape seed (*vitis vinifera*).[31] Radiocarbon from Loebanr suggests that this cultural tradition continued into the opening centuries of the second millennium BC.[32]

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24 Stacul (1977), op. cit., p. 235.

25 Stacul (1967), "Excavations in rock-shelter near Ghaligai (Swat west Pakistan) preliminary report," in *East and West*, Vol. 17. No. 3 and 4, p. 209.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid, p. 210.

28 Mughal (1972), "Introduction to the Pottery of Periods I and II of Saraikhola," in *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 8, p. 36.

29 Allchin and Allchin, p. 111.

30 Ibid, p. 115.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid; pp. 115-116.

The domestication of the cattle began in Western Asia and Mehargarh as far back as 7000-6000 BC.[33] And by the beginning of Neolithism in Kashmir cattle husbandary had played an important role in the substance pattern of the neighbouring cultures of Kashmir.[34] The taming of fowl and dog also seem to have been learnt either through contacts or through the medium of immigrations from Swat Valley which had intimate contacts with China where dog was treated as good as a family member.[35]

Beads of semi precious stones like lapis lazuli, carnelian, agate, steatite, turquoise and Jasper were very popular in the neighbouring Neolithic cultures of Kashmir.[36]

Between 2000 and 1500 BC Kashmir Neolithic culture entered into a new phase marked by some far-reaching developments. The finds which represent these developments are: dwelling structures made of mud or brick or both, cultivation of grapes (*vitis vinifera*), almonds, walnuts and peach, domestication of pig and horse, rectangular perforated stone harvesters and spindle whorls, better finished bone tools, crucible, a few copper arrow-heads, a ring, bangles and a hair-pin with flattened coiled head, a comma shaped pendent of light green jade, 950 beads fashioned out of agate and carnelian, terracotta bangles, cowry shells, black burnished ware, painted pots, red ware pots, red ware painted with a horned deity, a shred bearing graffiti, long-necked jars, dish on stand with triangular perforated designs on the stem region and burials within the settlements under the house floor or in compounds, flexed and crushed burials, primary and secondary burials,

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33 Asthana, op. cit., p. 191.
34 Ibid, pp. 191-194.
35 Allchin and Allchin, p. 116.

corpses daubed with red ochre, grave goods, animal burials and trepanning.[37]

These finds indicate two developments: (1) immigration of new people with new cultural items that were common in the culture zones they came from, (2) considerable growth in interaction between Kashmir and the neighbouring regions actuated by economic, climatic and cultural factors. In order to form an idea about the cultural zone where from these new people came or with which Kashmir developed such intimate contacts resulting into the introduction of new technology and culture, we will first search parallels of these cultural items in the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir.

Dwelling structures made of mud and brick have been quite often reported from different neighbouring sites, namely, Rehman Dheri, Tarakai Qila, Gumla II, and Sarai Khola II.[38] An exciting find at Loebanr III is a grape seed (*Vitis Vinifera*).[39] Almond originated in the area between Central and Western Asia[40] and peach and apricot in western China.[41] The technology of domestication of these plants was obviously brought to Kashmir by the immigrants from Dardistan and Swat who had intimate contacts with China and Central Asia. Pig (*Sus crisstatus*) is of frequent occurance at more than one Harappan site.[42] In the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir Afghanistan was perhaps the

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36 For Details see Asthana, op. cit., p. 204.

37 For modern works which contain information on Neolithic Kashmir, see, supra, p. fn. 31.

38 Durrani (1981), p. 135; Dani (1970-71), p. 44; *Pakistan Archaeology*, 1968, pp. 35-36.

39 Allchin and Allchin, p. 115.

40 Vide, Farooq Lone, *Palaeoethnobotany*, p. 144.

41 Vavlov, *The Origin, Variation, Immunity and Breeding of Cultivated Plants*, p. 360.

42 Allchin and Allchin, pp. 80, 191, 264, 276.

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37 For Details see Asthana, op. cit., p. 204.
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38 fn. 31.
Durrani (1981), p. 135; Dani (1970-71), p. 44; *Pakistan Archaeology*, 1968, pp.

39 35-36.

40 Allchin and Allchin, p. 115.

41 Vide, Farooq Lone, *Palaeoethnobotany*, p. 144.
Vavlov, *The Origin, Variation, Immunity and Breeding of Cultivated Plants*, p.

42 360.
Allchin and Allchin, pp. 80, 191, 264, 276.

first to exploit horse and dog. Mundigak I has yielded the remains of horse and dog.[43] The rectangular perforated stone knives is a characteristic of Neolithic cultures of north China and it has been also found at Kalako- deray, Swat.[44] Spindle whorls have been recovered from Mundigak (southern Afghanistan).[45] Fragments of several crucibles have been found in Mehrgarh III.[46] While almost each site situated in the west of Kashmir yielded the evidence of the presence of copper objects, we may specially refer to the one's which are nearest to the Valley. Mention may be made of Gumla II-III, and Sarai Khola II. Sarai Khola has given a wide range of objects: antimony rods, pins, nail pearers, spearheads, bangles, rings and needles.[47] The copper hair pins recalls the pins found from Mundigak IV, Jhukar, Mohenjodaro, Chanu-daro and Manda.[48] Interestingly we find Jade beads at Loebanr which procured it from Central Asia.[49] Agate and carnelian beads was a characteristic trait of the north-western borderland cultures of Kashmir.[50] Yet, the immediate source of carnelian and agate beads of Kashmir was Sarai Khola which has shown a considerable presence of them.[51] Terracotta bangles in abundance are reported from Baluchistan

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43 J.G.Shaffer, "The Later Prehistoric Periods," in F.R.Allchin and N. Hammond (eds), *The Archaeology of Afghanistan: from earliest times to Timurid Period*, p. 149.

44 Stacul, "Swat, Pirak and Connected Problems (Mid-2nd Millennium B.C.), in *South Asian Archaeology*, 1989, p. 268.

45 Shaffer, op. cit. vide Asthana op. cit., p. 84-85.

46 Jarrige and Meadow (1980), p. 130.

47 *Pakistan Archaeology*, 1968, p. 36.

48 Jarrige and Lechevallier (1979), pp. 508-18; Casal (1961), Fig. 139.18; Bisht and Asthana (1979), p. 229; Joshi and Madhu Bhala (1982), 185-195.

49 Allchin and Allchin, p 116.

50 Asthana, op. cit., p. 204.

51 *Pakistan Archaeology*, 1968, p. 36. Jarrige and Meadow 1980; Fairservis 1956, p. 230.

and the Indus valley.[52] The nearest parallels of Kashmir bangles are the one's found from Sarai Khola, Gumla II and Munda IA.[53] Shell was widely distributed and attested at Damb Sadaat II-III, Mudigak, Gumla III, Sarai Khola II, Kot Diji, Jalilpur etc.[54] Potter's wheel, kiln and painted pottery had a long history by then in the regions around Kashmir. This is shown by different varieties of wheel thrown painted pots known by different culture labels.[55] Notwithstanding the different origins of these potteries, Sarai Khola, Lewan Ghumla and Rehman Dheri acted, as usual, the basic intermediary channels of their transmission to Kashmir. This is substantiated by the materials and shapes of some pots which strikingly take after the pottery found at these sites. The best example is the wheel made fine globular red-ware pot, carrying a painting in black of a wild goat with long curved horns and hanging ears. The same representations have been found at Hissar (Iran) Kot Diji, Gumla, Rahman Dheri, Sarai Khola and Lewan.[56] Other pottery shapes which confirm Kashmir's contacts with these regions and there impact on pottery tradition of the Valley are the channel spouted vessels (found at Gufkral) and dish-on-stand. The channel spouted vessel has a long history in western Asia and in Iran.[57] Dish on stand was a very popular Kot Dijian ware.[58] Its extension to the north is attested at Sarai Khola[59] in the Taxila Valley and to the north-west in

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52 Jarrige and Meadow 1980; Fairservis 1956, p. 230.

53 Halim (1972), pp. 25-26; Dani (1970-71), pp. 88-89; Joshi and Madhu Bala 1982.

54 Fairservis 1965, p.130; Dani op.cit, 88, Halim; op.cit., p. 23; Khan 1965, p. 82; Mughal 1974, p. 112.

55 For details see Asthana, op.cit., pp. 173- 189.

56 Sankalia, *Prehistory in India*, p. 167; Allchin and Allchin, p. 163.

57 Sankalia, " Iranian Influence on Early Indo- Pakistan Cultures," in Amalendu Guha (ed.), *Central Asia*, pp. 55-56.

58 Khan 1965, pp. 42- 45.

59 *Pakistan Archaeology*, 1968, p. 36.

the Gomal Valley where Gumla, Hathala, Rehman Dheri, Karam Shah and Lewan have yielded this ware.[60] Graffiti marks have been found on the pottery of Rehman Dheri, Sarai Khola, Kot Diji etc.[61]

TABLE–I

Parallels between the Neolithic of Kashmir and the Neolithic of its immediate borderlands

Aceramic Phase

Place	Age	Name of the site
Baluchistan Afghanistan Gomal Valley	7th millennium B.C. 5th m 4th	Mehargarh I, K.G.M I Gumla I
Kashmir	2800 B.C.	Gufkral I

Pit Dwelling

Afghanistan Potwar Pleatue	3100	Saraikhola I
Swat Valley		Loebanr
Bannu City Afghanistan		Lewan
Kashmir	2800-2000 B.C	Burzahom I and Gufkral I,II

Red painted floors

Baluchistan Kashmir	6th Aceramic and ceramic	Mehargarh Gufkral I, II Burzahom I

Stone tools

Baluchistan Afghanistan Gomal Valley Potwar Plateau Punjab	6000 B.C 5000B.C 6000-4470 4000B.C 3100-2800 4000 B.C	Mehargarh I, II KGM Rana Ghundi Gumla I, II Sarai Khola I, II Jalilpur I&II	Adzes, axes, drills, picks, points, pestles, pounders, querns, and ring stones
Kashmir	2800 B.C	Burzahom and Gufkral I, II	-do-

60 Dani 1970-71, pp. 144ff; Durani 1981, pp. 133-138.

61 Asthana, op.cit., p.97.

Bone tools

Baluchistan	6000 B.C 5000B.C 6000-4470	Mehargarh I, II KGM Rana Ghundi	Awals, points, needles common
Afghanistan: Gomal Valley Potwar Plateau Punjab	 4000B.C 3100-2800 4000	 Gumla I, II Anjira Sarai Khola I, II Jalilpur I&II	
Swat valley		Loebanr and Aligrama	-do-
Kashmir	2800	Burzahom and Gufkral	-do-

CROPS

(Wheat, barley and lentils)

Baluchistan	6th-5th millennium B.C.	Mehargarh (aceramic)
Swat valley		Rehman Dheri Labonar
Potwar Plateau	3100 B.C.	Sarai Khola
Kashmir	2800	Gufkral I (aceramic) Burzahom I

Pea

Swat valley		Loebanr III
Kashmir	1500-600 B.C	Burzahom II

Grape seed

Swat VAlley	2nd millennium B.C.	Loebanr
Kashmir	2500-2000 B.C	Burzahom II

Domestication of Animals

(Sheep goat and cattle)

Baluchistan Afghanistan (Gomal Valley)	6th millennium B.C. 5000 6th millennium B.C. 4000 B.C.	Mehrgarh I KGM Rana Ghundi Gumla	Domesticated cattle
Kashmir	2800 B.C 2520 B.C	Gufkral (aceramic), and Burzahom I	

Dog and fowl

Kashmir		Burzahom II	Dog
Afghanistan			Horse and dog
Mundigak I			Horse and dog

Beads

(Carnelian, agate, Jade)

Baluchistan		Mehargarh I

		Loebanr	Jade
Potwar region		Sarai Khola	Agate and carnelian
Kashmir		Burzahom II	

Bangles

Baluchistan		Mehargarh II	Terracotta bangles
Indus Valley			
Potwar region		Saraikhola II	
Gomal valley		Gumla II	
		Munda IA	
Kashmir		Burzahom II	

Shells

Afghanistan		Damb Sadaat II-III Mundigak Gumla III Sarai Khola II Kot Diji
Punjab		Jalilpur
Kashmir		Burzahom II

Copper hair pins

Pakistan	2000 B.C	Mohenjodaro Chanhu daro
India		Banawali
Jammu		Manda
Kashmir		Gufkral

POTTERY

Potwar region (Afghanistan)		Sarai Khola	Coarse, burnished grey and brown ware.
Swat Valley	1700 B.C.	Loebnar III Ghaligai III	Black grey burnished pottery. The pottery is coarse and gritty and has basket impressions.
Kashmir	2520-1500 B.C.	Burzahom I	-do-
		Gumla, Lewan. Mehargarh	Use of coiling method and mat impression.

Potters wheel and painted pottery

Afghanistan		Kot Diji	Wheel made fine globular red –ware pot carrying a painting in black of a wild goat with long curved horns.
		Saraikhola	2) Dish-on-stand -do-

		Gumla	-do-
		Lewan	-do
		Rehman Dheri	-do-
Kashmir	1500-600	Burzahom II	-do-
Kashmir		Gufkral II	Channal spouted Vessel

Burial Customs

Baluchistan	7th – 6th millennium B.C	Mehargarh I
Afghanistan		
Kashmir	1500-600 B.C	Burzahom II

(Dwelling Structures)

Afghanistan		Rehman Dheri
		Tariqi Qila
Gomal Valley		Gumla II
Potwar region		Sarai Khola II
Kashmir	1500 B.C.	Burzahom II

The rock art of Kashmir can be placed in a wider perspective of this art as known from its immediate surrounding areas particularly in Chilas and Swat. Writing about the distinctive position of Chilas as an unparalled area in having large number of rock carvings Dhani writes, " the largest concentration of such ruins – the greatest number of rock carvings at any place in the world – is at Chilas proper or either side of the river Indus."[62] The art prevailed in the region continuously from pre historic times to historical period.[63] No wonder, then, that the early people of this area are called " People of the Rock Art."[64] The antiquity of the Chilas rock art goes back to sixth or fifth millennium

62 A.H. Dani, *Chilas: The City of Nanga Parvat*, p. 4.

63 For details see Ibid pp. 18ff; also the same author's *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, pp. 89ff

64 *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, p. 110.

B.C.[65] About the stone engravings of the Kashmir which may be placed in the middle of the third millennium B.C, Dhani opines that "the technique of stone engraving has a general resemblance to the engravings from Chilas area."[66] There is some uniqueness in some scenes engraved on the stone slabs of Kashmir, but some scenes present a close affinity with those of Chilas rock carvings. There too we find hunting scenes a common occurrence; hunters hunting with bows and arrows; hunters accompanied by dogs, and the male organs clearly indicated.[67]

In Swat rock engravings have been found at Gogdara and at Haithiano Kandao.[68] They bear similarity with some of the carvings from Chilas and its surrounding areas and can be dated to the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. From Gagdara a wheeled chariot has been found. This is placed in the second millennium B.C.[69]

The Naga worship, the most primitive but popular cult of Kashmir throughout its history despite the subsequent religious changes, was most probably introduced in Kashmir during the Neolithic period by the early settlers who, as we have seen immigrated into Kashmir from the territories situated on its northern and western boarders. The evidence regarding the prevalence of this cult in the north of Kashmir comes from the pre-historic rock carvings of Chilas[70]; and about the popularity of this cult in the immediate west of

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65 Ibid., pp. 90-91.
66 *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, pp.90- 91.
67 *Chilas*, op. cit., p. 29 plate 13.
68 *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, op. cit., p. 91.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid, p. 484, pl. 4; *Chilas*, p. 53, plate-34.

Kashmir archaeology has provided us sufficient information.[71] Nagas (serpents), according to the popular belief in Kashmir, are tutelary deities living in the springs and lakes of the valley. They can also appear in human shape.[72] The same belief was perhaps held by the prehistoric people of neighbouring Chilas. Dhani has reported a pre-historic anthropomorphic figure from Chilas which is probably a snake-god having association with water.

> Of far greater importance is another anthropomorphic figure at Ziarat I site on a double-faced boulder. This figure is of a unique formation. The main body is formed by a double triangle, meeting at the apex and enclosed within a square. Of far greater importance is another anthropomorphic figure at Ziarat I sight on a double-triangle, meeting at the faced boulder. This figure is of a unique formation The main body is formed by a double apex and enclosed within a square. At the meeting of the triangles there are four dots. The standing hair are shown by vertical lines on the top of the body. The face is not shown at all. Both the hands, which are pecked solid, and have five fingers each, are at an incline. From the left arm a snake emerges upward. Below the body two legs taper down in outline and drawn in a fashion that shows joint legs of a type known in the terracotta of the Bronze Age. The feet, which are joined, are shown, sideways in away that they give the appearance of a boat. The twin aspect of the deity is quite clear. He has association with snake and hence could be snake-god. At the same time the boat-like feet formation suggests river connection and hence he could be a river god. However, technical relationship with other anthropomorphic figures of the area shows the continuity of a concept that appears to be prehistoric in origin. The only other new

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71 *Pakistan Archaeology*, Vol. II, 1965, p. 57, fig. 16(1) and plate XVII; Vol. V, 1970-71, pp. 65-68.

72 *Rajatarangini*, tr. Stein, Vol. I, Book i, verse-30 and note 30.

feature is the standing hair over the body representing head portion.[73]

The existence of Naga cult in the immediate ~~south~~ West of Kashmir is testified by the presence of terracotta figurines in the form of serpent-legged deities and representation of serpent deities on shreds and pots discovered from Gumula, Kot Diji, Anjira, Rehman Dheri, Jhang Batar etc. belonging to about fourth-fifth millennium B.C.[74] "Taxila" says Saifur Rahman Dar, "has always been regarded as a strong centre of Naga Worship."[75]

True, there is no evidence of the prevalence of *Naga* or any other cult in Kashmir during the Neolithic period. Yet the popularity and the deeply embedded faith which the *Naga* cult enjoyed in Kashmir even after the subsequent religious changes, testifies to the fact that it was not only the oldest faith of Kashmir but also the one which ruled the worldview of Kashmiris for the longest period of time.

More Evidence on Intermediary Zone and the Identity of the Early Settlers:

The details documented above make it abundantly clear that the early culture of Kashmir was primarily a diffusion stimuli culture i.e. diffusion was the major causative factor in its rise. It evolved, changed and developed basically because of transmission of cultures consequent upon immigrations, settlements and contacts. The question arises: From which areas did these early settlers come from? On the

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73 *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, pp. 100-101.

74 See fn. 68 above. Also, see Saifur Rahman Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, p. 16.

75 Ibid.

basis of the cultural affinities outlined above one can readily say that the early settlers came all the way from the area situated close on its north and western borders. It comprised Gilgit, Astor, Baltistan, Hunza, Nagar, Chilas, Hazara, Swat and Taxila Valley. The area touched the borders of major civilizations, namely, China, Central Asia, Iran, and Indian subcontinent, helping it to enrich itself of the developments occurring in the neighbouring civilizations. The semi-nomadic people of the area moved with the knowledge of new changes and settled in Kashmir in stages, trekking through the mountainous routes connecting Kashmir with the outside world– a discovery of these early settlers of Kashmir. They seem to have followed four traditional routes, namely, Baramulla route, Kupwara route, Bandipura route and Zojila route. Baramulla route was the most convenient and shortest line of communication to Swat Valley, Texila Valley, Indus Valley, Afghanistan Iran and western Turkistan. This route was followed by Hieun Tsang,[76] Ou-Kong[77] and Persian and Central Asian Muslim missionaries.[78] Kupwara route connected Kashmir with Kishanganga Valley (Chilas etc.) via Karnah; Bandipura route led into upper Kishanganga Valley known as Gurez and connected with the routes leading to Astor, Baltistan and Gilgat; Zojila connected Kashmir with Ladakh and thence with Tibet and China. These routes were followed by the people coming from different directions, bringing with them a culture which was primarily a diffusion of Chinese, Eurasian, Central Asian, West Asian and Iranian Civilizations.

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76 M.A. Stein, Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, vol.II, p. 355.
77 Ibid, p. 357.
78 Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh-i- Kashmir*, ff. 15a, 31a.

The archaeological evidence with regard to the identity of the early settlers of Kashmir is also substantiated by the linguistic analysis of Kashmiri language. According to the famous linguist, George Grierson, Kashmiri language belongs to Dardic group of languages. To quote him verbatim:

> That Kashmiri language has a Dardic basis is a matter of which no philologist can have any doubt...its basis–in other words, its phonetic system, its accidence, its syntax, its prosody– is Dardic. It must be classified as such.[79]

The Dardic group of languages is contemptuously called by a generic term *Paisaci* in ancient Sanskrit literature.[80] It denoted those languages which were spoken in the area between the Hindukush and the Indian frontier in which the *kafir* speeches, Khowar, Shina, Kohistani and Kashmiri are now the vernaculars.[81] The area comprised the present Gilgat, Chilas, Astor, Gurez, Kashmir and Indus and Swat Kohistan.[82] The fact that the Kashmiri language belongs to the family of Dardic languages is also attested by a large number of common words we find in Shina, Kohistani, Bashgali, Burshaski, Kashmiri and other Dardic languages inspite of revolutionary cultural changes, substituting old words by new ones. A few such words are reproduced in Table II.

Who were these Dards? To which race did they belong? Were they a branch of Aryans or did they belong to some non-Aryan group living in the area (like Dravidians) prior to the coming of the Aryans. If we

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79 George Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. VIII, part II, p. 253.

80 Ibid,, Introduction.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid

believe Grierson then the Dards belonged to the Aryan race though not the scions of Indo-Aryans as according to him Kashmiri language is an independent branch of Aryan language like Sanskrit and Iranian languages.[83]

Table II

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN TYPICAL LANGUAGES OF THE DARDIC SUB-FAMILY

English	Kashmiri	Kohistani	Shinā	Bashgali	Kalasha	Khowar	Veron
Alas	Hai, Afsos, armān	Armān	Afsos, hai		Hai-darek	Ausuz	
Again	Bey		Bey				
Ass	Khar	Khar	Khar	Kur			
Alike	Sōm		Sonm				
Aunt (fathers Sister)	Pŏph		Pipi, Fif				
Aunt (mothers sister)	Mas		Mā				
Acid	Tsok		Churko				
After	Pata		Phatū				
Anger	R^{a}sh		Rŏsh				
Autumn	Sharo		Harud				
Back	Thar		Pūtū	Pti			
Bear	Haput		Hapot				
Beg	Betchun		Bet shumus				
Behind	Pate kani, pata	Pata, pātō	Potā, phatū				
Black	Krehun		Kini, Kuni				
Brother	Böy^{u}	Bhā	Bāyō				

[83] Ibid.

Burnt	Dauid		Daddo				
But	Ammah, magar		Ammāh				Magar
Beard	dor		Dai				
Between	Manz		Majja				
Bite	Tsop"		Chup				
Blow	Phukh		Phu				
Blue	Nīl"		Nīlo				
Bone	Adija		Ati				
Be born	Zē		Jo				
Both	Biye		Bĕye				
Bow	Dun"		Danu				
Boy	Shur"		Shudār				
Break	Phut		Put-				
Breath	Shāh		Shã				
Brown	Gurut"		Gūro				
Bull	Dānd		Dōno				
Cat	Brôr" bishta		Büshī				
Camel	ũth		ũnt				
Carpenter	Chhan		Tatshon				
Child	Lokut, shur	Lakūtör	Shudar, shuyi				
Cock	Kokur	Kūkur	Kankōröchō, koko				Kakok ũ
Cow	Gāv	Gāō	Gāō, go				
Come	Wōla, yih	Yah, yai		Wā, ē			
Courtyard	Angun		Oongan				
Crooked	Hol"		kōlŏ				
Crow	Kāv		Kã				
Cut	Tsatun		Tshini				
Dance	nats		Nat'				
Day	Dòh		des				
Die	Mar	Mar	Mirr				
Death	Māra		Māren				
Dog	Hūn"	Kūchur	Shūu				
Demon	Yech		Yetch, itch				
Door	Dar, bar		Darre, dar				
Darkness	Gatazul		Gatejo				
Died	Mur, moodh		M'uy, muos				
Dry	Hökh"		Shuko				
Eat	Khĕ'	Khō	Ko				
Ear	Kan	Kan	Kōn, kūn				
Eight	Ōth	Ath	Atah	Osht	Asht	Osht	
Eye	Achh'	Ashī	Achhi	Achēh	Ech		
Egg	Thool	Thul					

Earthquake	Buñul"		Būyiāl				
Elephant	Hosl"		Hasto				
Eclipse	Gron"		Grā				
Far	Dūr		Dūr				
Father	Mol"	Mhala	Mālo				
Finger	Ong"j"		Agūī				
Fire	Daman		Dameni				
Five	Ponta	Pang		Puch	Ponj	Ponj	
Flour	Out"		Ānt				
Foot	Khor	Khur		Kyur	Khur		
Forget	Mash		Amush				
Four	Tsor	Chor, tsor	Chār		Chau		
Fox	Loh		Loy, loyn				
Gave	Duetmas		Digasus				
Ghee	Gaue		Gi				
Give	Dih	Dai	Di		Deh	Det	
Going	Gatshan	Gayta					
Gold	Sōn	Swan	Son	Sun			
Gone	Gou		Gou				
Grape	Dachh		Jach				
Grass	Kach		Kach				
Great	Bod"		Boddo				
Green	Neul		Nile				
Hair	Jath, wal		Jath				
Hand	Atha	Hath	Hatth				
Handle	Dan		Dono				
Hard soil	Kurrah		Kuro				
He	Suh		Soh				Sū
Head	Kala					Kapal	
Heap	Gūn		Gumy				
Hen	Kuker		Kokoi				
His	Tam-sond"	Tashā			Tā-a		
Horns	Hang		Sheng				
Horse	Gur"	Gor	Gaō				
Hot	Tot"		Tāto				
Hurrah	Ala		Ala				
He went	Suh gōv, gov		Gaō				
I	Bŏh, mai	Ma	Mā				
If	Ay, magar	Ke		Ki		Ki	
Ironmonger	Khar						
I will buy	Beh hami mul		Mul de ginum				
I will sit	Beh behame		Beyim				
I was	Bŏh osus		Ma asus			Ā āsis	
Is it?	Na		Na				

Kill	Mār'		Mār'				
Knee	Kōth"		Kutü				
Learn	Hēchh		Sich				
Lip	Wuth		Ōnti				
Listen	Booz		Buja				
Load	Bar		Baro				
Man	Mahanyny"		Manuzho				
Meat	Ma'az		Motz				
Message	Sluch		Sitshe				
Milk	Dōd		Dut				
Mine	Meūn		May				
Moon	Zūn	Yūn	Yūn				
Mother	mōj"		Māli				
Mouth	ōs		Aî				
Name	Nāv		Nām				
Narrow pass	Srung		Shong				
New	Now"		Now"				
Neither	Nau		Ne				
Night	Rath		Rate				
Nine	Nav	Noh, nau	Nau	Noh	Nōh	Neoh	
Nose	Nast	Nat	Nāto				Nes
No	Na	Na	Ne, nia	Nei	Ne	Na	Nieh
Not	Na		Ni				
Old	Pron, bood		Pronō, baro				
Of me	Myôn"	Miā	Mei		Mai		
Of us	Sôn"		Assānō				Asē
Of thee	Chyôn"		Thānō				
Of night	Ratuk		Ratijo				
Of him	Tam-sond	Tashā	Tsei				
Of them	Timan-hind"	Tasā			Ta-a		
Of a father	Mol' sond"	Mahāla-ā	Mālei			Tat-o	
Of you							
Pain	Lagun		Langiddi				
Pan	Ta'v		Tawa				
Plough	Ala		Hal				
Pomegranate	Dan		Danu				
Potter	Kral		Kulal				
Price	Mul		Mul				
Pride	Bajĕr		Badyār				
Rain dropping from a roof.	Wooj		Wazu				
Reached	Whott		Utshatte				
Return							
Right (not left)	Dachhin"		Dashino				
Rise	Wōth'		Uth'				

Run	Dav	Dab				Däweh	
Sand	Sĕk		Sigel				
Seed	Byol"		Bī				
Seven	Sath	Sat	Satt	Sut	Sat	Sot	
Serpent	Sarnaf		Sarpa				
Second time	Dagun		Duguni				
Shoulder	Pyuk"		Piow				
Shinning	Jeelan		Jill				
Shepherd	Gabirochh" , pohal	Payāl	Peyālō				
Silver	Roph	Rūp	Rūp				
Singing	Gĕv		Gai				
Sit	Bĕh		Beih				
Sitting	Behet		Beyto				
Snow	Shīn		Hin				
Son	Pathur			Pitr	Pūtr		
Sour	Tshuk		Tshukro				
Spinning	Qatun		Qati				
Spitting	Thu		Thu				
Spade	Bēl		Bel				
Stand	Woth		Uthē				
Steps	Pa'y		Pay				
Sweet	Mŏdur		Mŏro				
Two	Zah	Dū	Dū	Diu	Du	Ju	
Three	Trĕh		Trē	Treh	Treh	Troi	
Throat	hot"		Shoto				
Teeth	Dand	Dand, dan	Don	Dut		Don	
Ten	Dah	Dash	Dīā	Dits	Dash		
Thou	Ts"h	Tū	Tū	Tu	Tu	Tū	
Thine	Chyon	Chhā	Thānō				
They	Tim	Tum					
Their	Timan-hond						
Thrashing	Tshombun		Tshino				
Throw away	Dariath di		Darai dai				
Today	āz		Acho				
Tongue	Zev	Jib, zib	Jib				
Two fathers	Zah, mol'	Dū mālē					
They are	Tim chhih		Ma asus, asulns		Teh āsan		
Take hold	Lam'		Lam'				
Turn	Wār		Bar				
Unkbked storage pit	Lopun		Lopun				
Village	Gām		Girom				
Water	Pon, won		wōi				
We	As'						Asē

What	Kyah	Kai, ka		Kai	Kai	Kya	
When	Kar		Kare				
Whistle	Shudden		shiudoke				
Who	Kus,kum,kam	Ko, kam, kum	Ko			Ka	kese
Why	Kyazi	Kai	Kēh	Kā-ge	ko		
Wife	Garin	Geryū	Grein				
With	Sot'		Sāti				
Window	Dar		darī				
Work	kòm"		kŏm				
Write	Lèkh'		Lik'				
We went	As' gay		Beh ges				
What is your name?	Chyon" nav kya chhuh'?	Te gi na thū					
Yes	Awa	Oh	Awa		Ŏv		Uwoh

Source : Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol VIII, part II.
Litt~~ree~~ *Dardistan.*

However, it is difficult to agree with Grierson because the Aryans had all contempt for these early settlers. They not only called them by derogatory names such as *Pisachas* (flesh devourers) but they also did not regard them even as humans.[84] Infact, there is no cultural compatibility between the Aryans and these early settlers. Neither, according to the Aryan sources, was there any affinity between the languages of the two, nor was their life style in accord with one another.[85] The Sanskrit sources portray them strikingly two opposite groups having no compatibility with one another. Akhtar Mihiu'd-Din rightly argues: " Would any nation, people or race, give itself such a humiliating name? Is it not invariably others who give such derogatory names to rival nations, people or race? The word 'pisaca' being a derogatory name, could not have been given by any people to themselves."[86]

As a matter of fact before the coming of the Aryans, Dardistan was inhabited by a local population who spoke a non-Aryan language, perhaps Burushaski. This is also the view of Grierson:

> Over the whole of Dardistan, there is an underlayer of Burushaski words....These words are found in localities far from the present habitat of Burushaski, and the inference is that, before the arrival of the Pisachas, the whole of Dardistan was once inhabited by the ancestors of the present owners of Hunza and Nagar. It is not impossible that they were identical with the Nagas who according to Kashmir mythology, were the original inhabitants of the happy valley before the arrival of the Pisachas, and after whom every mountain spring in Kashmir is named. Be that as it may, at the

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84 *Nilmatapurana*, tr. Ved Ghai, pp. 4ff.
85 Ibid.

bottom of the Dardic languages, there is a small, and quite unimportant, element of Burushaski."[87]

It is the view of the linguists that when small tribes are found clinging to a dying form of speech, surrounded by powerful languages which have superseded the neighbouring speeches, and which have started to supersede this form of speech also, it may be concluded that the dying language is the language of the land and it gives clue to the racial affinities of its speakers. This is exactly the case with the Dardic group of languages.[88] Over the whole of Dardistan including Kashmir there is an underlayer of Burushaski words and phrases.

The ethnographical analysis of Kashmiri people particularly the physical traits both external and internal would prove of immense help in establishing, on scientific grounds, the relations of Kashmiri people with the peoples of the neighbouring world. Unfortunately no systematic physical examination of the Kashmiri people has been made yet. The majority of the Kashmiri people, however, possesses a light transparent brown skin and are usually of medium to tall stature. They are much dolichocephalic, have a well-developed forehead, a long narrow face, regular features and a prominent, straight and fairly cut laptorrhine nose. The same type is found among the people of Afghanistan, North West Frontier Provinces, northern Punjab, Swat, Hazara, Chitral, Chilas, Astor, Gilgat, and other areas of Dardistan.[89] The probable area of characterization of this race, therefore, seems to have been between the Hindukush and the Sulaiman mountain, from

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86 Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din. *A Fresh Approach to the History of Kashmir*, p.10.

87 Grierson, op.cit, p.6.

88 Vide, S.C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 31.

89 Ibid., pp. 32-33.

where it spread to its neighbouring areas. This race is called Indo-Afghan by Haddon,[90] Nordic by Guha[91] and Indid by Von Eickstedt.[92]

It is significant to note that the anthropological study of human skeletal remains from Burzahom has revealed that the cramia which are basically long headed resemble more closely with Harappan cemetery R 37.[93] Since the Harappan civilization is an extension of Baluchistan Neolithic cultures,[94] and Baluchistan falls within the geo-cultural zone where from the earliest migrations into the Valley took place, the racial similarity between the peoples of Harappa and Kashmir is quite understandable.

Global Links Of Early Kashmiri Culture Although the adjoining north, west and north-west borderlands of Kashmir acted as the immediate source of its early culture, the fact, however, remains that in regard to culture transmission their position was not more than a transit depot that deals with the goods that are actually the products of other lands. To be sure, some areas stole a march over others in making a specific invention or discovery and it was from these centers that new technologies and cultures diffused to different parts of the globe, leading either to the emergence of a large culture zones or a 'global culture' after some traits came to be shared by all cultures. The fact is that the immediate neighbours of Kashmir passed on to the Valley the culture that they

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90 Haddon, *The Race of Man*, p. 86.

91 B.S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population*, pp. 23-26.

92 L.A. Iyer, *Travancore Tribes and Castes*, p. XIV.

93 A. Basu *et al.*, *Human Remains from Burzahome*, Calcutta, 1980.

94 Cf. Mughal, M.R. " Early Harappan Culture from Jalilpur," in *Pakistan Archaeology*, Vol. 27, No.2, pp.106-113; For details, also see Asthana, op.cit.

had themselves borrowed from some centres of civilization in the wake of migrations to and settlements in these areas. To substantiate our argument it is necessary to briefly make a mention of the parallels one finds in some great civilizations of remote antiquity that bordered Kashmir and its immediate neighbours viz Dardistan, Potwar region and Swat Valley.

Dwelling pits have been found in Russia, Ukraine, China, Japan and West Asia. In Russia pit–dwellings occur from the Paleolithic times. About a dozen sites have been discovered so far with a characteristic trait of pit-dwelling.[95] In China dwelling-pits with storage pits have been found at Lung-ma around lake Changerh, Ching-ping, Yang-shao-T'sun in Honan, His and Yin-T Sun in Shansi, Pan-po-t'sun in Shenis and Ma-chia Yao in Kansu province, Pai-Shah-Cheng, and Huangho.[96] The dwelling pits are also found in the Lung Shan culture extending from Hopeito Cheki-ang to Honan.[97] In Japan many dwelling pits have been found at various prehistoric sites from early Jomon period to final Jomon period.[98] Pit-dwellings have also been found at many Neolithic sites in west Asia, namely, Beidha (Levant),[99] Ramad (Levant),[100] M'Lefaat (Iraq),[101] Tape Asiab (Iran)[102] and Tape Sarab (Iran).[103]

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95 A.L. Mongait, *Archaeology of USSR*, pp. 91, 92, 109, 112; A. Bryusov, " Neolithic-dwellings in the forest zone of the European part of the USSR." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 78, 79.

96 T. Chang, *Prehistoric China*, Vol. I, pp. 54, 59, 76, 107, 133.

97 W. Watson, *China*, London, 1961, p. 50.

98 G. J. Groote, *The Prehistory of Japan*, 1951, pp.37, 44-45, 51, 59, 61, 69.

99 P. Singh, *The Neolithic Culture of Western Asia*, London, 1976, pp. 42, 48, 49

100 Ibid.

101 J. Mellaart, *The Neolithic of the Near East*, London, 1975, p. 74.

102 Singh, op. cit., p. 166

103 Ibid., p. 167.

Floors decorated with red ochre have been encountered at Hacilar (Anatolia), Can Hassan (Anatolia seven thousand B.C),[104] at Djeitun Depe and Chakmakli Depe (south Turkmenia) in 5000 BC and 3600-3000 B.C. respectively,[105] Deh-Luran plain (Iran)[106] and at Mehargarh (Baluchistan).[107]

Bone tools have been rampantly found in Russia,[108] Central Asia,[109] China,[110] Japan,[111] Iraq,[112] Iran,[113] and Turkey.[114] How the tradition of making different bone tools travelled from one place to other. It is evidenced by the boon harpoons which spread through Russia to Siberia in 3000BC[115] and from there to China and Japan[116] and quite likely to Kashmir also through Central Asia. This tradition is

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104 Ibid., pp. 68, 105.

105 Masson and Sarianidi, *Central Asia: Turkmenia before the Achaeminids*, pp. 36, 48.

106 Singh, p. 186.

107 Jarriage and Lechevallier, op. cit., p. 10.

108 Mongait, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

109 V.M.Masson and V. I. Sarianidi, *Central Asia: Turkmenia Before the Achaemenids*, New York, 1972.

110 Chang, op. cit., pp. 66, 90, 94, 131.

111 Groote, op. cit., pp. 37, 38, 61, 62, 65, 68.

112 K. Solecki and L. Rose, Two Bone Hafts from Northern Iraq, *Antiquity*, Vol. 43, pp. 311-14; Braidwood and Howe, *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Chicago, 1960; Braidwood and Braidwood, "Jarmo, A Village of Early Farmers in Iraq," in *Antiquity*, vol. 24, pp. 189-95.

113 Hole and Flannery, "Excavations at Ali Kosh Iran 1961" in *Iranica Antiqua* Vol. 2, pp. 97- 148; Meldagard, Morten and thrane, " Excavations at Tepe Guran Luristan," in *Acta Archaeology*, vol. 34, pp. 97-133.

114 Todd, " Asikli Huyuk A Protoneolithic site in Central Anatolia," in *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 16, pp. 139-63.

115 Andress Lommel, op.cit., p. 45.

116 Ibid.

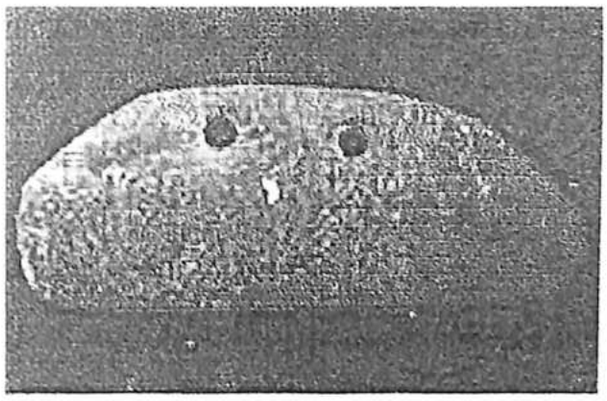

Fig 3.1 Rectangular perforated stone harvester from China.
(Courtesy S.L.Shali)

Fig 3.2
Kalako-deray, Swat, stone holed sickles.
(Courtesy S.Asian Archaeology 1989))

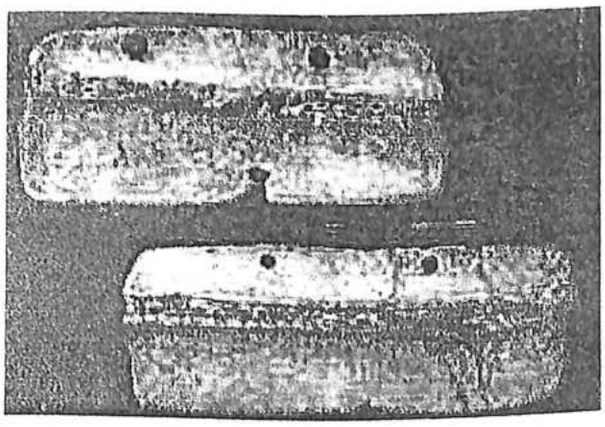

Fig 3.3 Bone harvester from Burzahom, district Srinagar.
(Courtesy S.L.Shali)

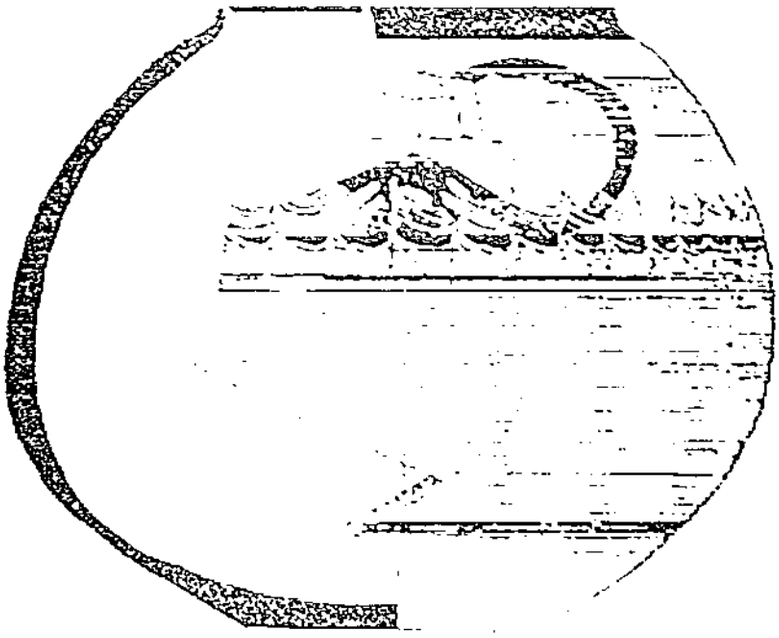

Fig 3.4

Pre-Harappan pot with painting in black from Burzahom excavations (period II)
(Courtesy S.L.Shali)

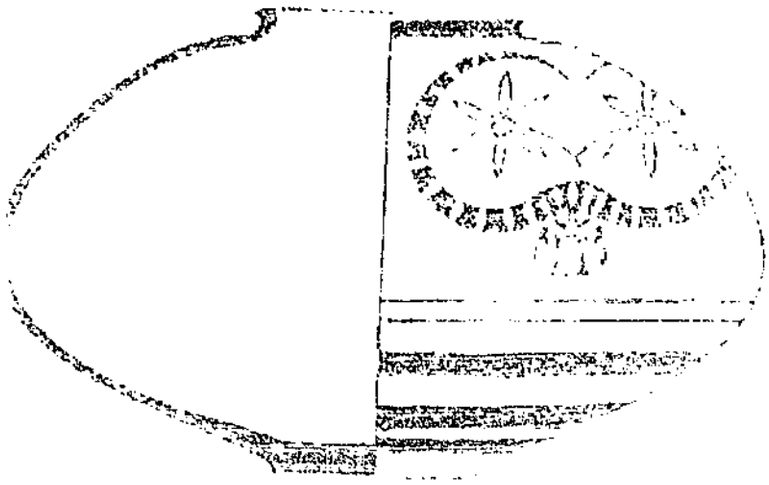

Fig 3.5 Early Indus pottery, Kot Diji, I.
(Courtesy B&R Allchin)

still alive in Central Asia[117] as well as in Kashmir where it is called *narus* although bone is now replaced by iron.

Rectangular or semi-lunar polished stone knives – a significant find from Burzahom – is a distinctive feature of Far-Eastern Neolithic cultures. It is found chiefly in northern China where about a dozen sites have yielded similar objects.[118] Polished stone axes similar to those from Burzahom are also reported from West Asia[119] and southern India.[120] Asthana regards the polished stone tools to have come from west Asia, particularly Iran, where they are found in earlier contexts.[121]

The technology of wheat and barley cultivation perhaps originated in Iran. From Iran it traveled to Iraq, Turkey and Indian sub-continent. The cultivation of these crops dates back to the 7600 BC in Ali Kosh (Iran), 6750 BC in Jermo Ali Kosh (Iraq), 6740 in Hacilar (Turkey), 6500 BC in Can Hasan (Turkey) and sixth-fifth millennium BC in Mehargarh (Baluchistan).[122] Lentil and pea were first domesticated in Mediterranean and south eastern Asia. They were widely distributed in Turkey, Syria, Israel, Northern Iraq, western and

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117 Ibid.

118 Chang, op.cit., pp. 97, 107, 115, 130, 131, 137, 141, 145.

119 Asthana, *History and Archaeology of India's Contacts with other Countries: from earliest times to 3rd century B.C*, p. 80.

120 Ibid; p. 77.

121 Ibid, pp. 77, 80.

122 Charles A. Reed, " The Pattern of Animal Domestication in the Prehistoric Near East," in P.J.Ucko and G.W. Dimbleby, (eds.), *Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals*, London, pp. 361- 80; Braidwood *et al*, " The Iranian Prehistoric Project," in *Science*; J. Mellaart, *Excavations at Hacilar*, p. 239; D.H. French *et al*, " Excavations at Can Hasan III 1969-70," in E. Higgs (ed.), *Paper in Economic Prehistory*, pp. 180-90; J.F. Jarriage and R.H. Meadow, " The Antecedents of Cultivation in the Indus Valley," in *Scientific America*, 243 (2), 1980, pp. 122-23.

northern India.[123] Walnuts are native to Central Asia, Iran, Caucasus, Anatolia, Balkans and Southern Europe.[124] Whether walnut cultivation in Kashmir was introduced from Central Asia or whether it was domesticated locally is still not clear. Grapes originated in an area extending from west Europe to western India.[125] Its cultivation was underway in the North- East as early as 4th millennium BC.[126] Grapes have also been reported from Mehargarh (Early Bronze age, end of the 4th millennium and beginning of the 3rd millennium BC).[127] The grapes of Kashmir are believed to have been introduced from Middle East through Central Asia[128]; and Swat Valley acted as the nearest source for the transmission of this technology.[129] Peach is believed to have originated in western China,[130] almond in Central to western Asia[131] and apricot in western China.[132]

The Neolithic pottery of Kashmir has some similarity with the pottery of China though the shapesof pots from two countries are quite different. As in Kashmir, in China too there was a pot type made by coiling method, having grey and black burnished texture and shows basket impressions at the base.[133] The use of potter's wheel was made in Sumer and Iran simultaneously a little before 3000 BC.[134] Its use in India and China is of latter date. Yet at the time we find its presence in

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123 *Palaeoethnobotany*, op.cit., p. 203.
124 Ibid, p. 140.
125 Ibid, p. 146.
126 Ibid.
127 Jarrige and Meadow, 1980, op.cit., p. 132.
128 *Palaeoethonobotany*, op.cit., p. 146.
129 Allchin and Allchin, op.cit., p. 115.
130 N.A. Vavilov, op.cit., p.360.
131 *Palaeoethonobotany*, op.cit., p. 144.
132 Ibid.
133 Chang, op. cit., pp. 57, 61, 80, 92, 100, 125, 130, 131, 139, 143, 149.

Kashmir it was already in vogue for quite some time in India and China.[135] It is significant to mention that according to Sankalia the motif of a wild goat with long curved horns, which the Burzahom wheel made red ware pot carries, has greater resemblance to the one from Hissar (Iran) than to the other from Sind.[136] The channel spouted vessel found from Gufkral has a long history in western Asia and Iran.[137] It has been traced back to Crete. It reached central India around 1500 BC.[138] It is almost of the same date in Kashmir.

The copper hair-pins discovered from Gufkral have parallels in Mediterranean regions, Hissar III (Iran), Anau (Turkistan), Mohanjodaro, Chanhudaro, Jhukar (Pakistan) and Manda (Jammu).[139] Stuart Piggot carried out a study of such sites where double-spiral headed pins have been found. Besides Mohenjo daro and Chanho daro in the Indus, he has located seventeen other sites, spreading from Greece to Persian Gulf and Caucasus to the Indus, where such pins are available. While certifying their wide spread distribution, Stuart Piggot opines that double-spiral headed pins actually originated in the Aegean-Anatolian region wherefrom they spread to north Persia and onwards to the Indus around 2500 B.C.[140]

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134 Singer and Hall, *History of Technology*, Vol. I, p. 199.

135 Ibid.

136 H.D. Sankalia, *Prehistory in India*, p. 167.

137 *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 191-82. p. 25.

138 H.D. Sankalia, "Iranian Influences on Early Indo-Pakistan Cultures" in Amlendu Guha (ed.) *Central Asia*, pp. 55-56.

139 Stuart Piggot, " Notes on Certain metal Pins and a Mace Head in the Harappan Culture," in *Ancient India*, No.4, pp. 27- 32.; For Manda, see Joshi and Madhu Balla, op. cit.

140 Ibid.

The painting of skeleton with red-ochre is an old tradition. The practice prevailed in Paleolithic Russia and continued into Neolithic times.[141] Many red painted burials have also been reported from China, Japan, Lavant and Anatolia.[142] However, after Russia the larger number of painted burials have been reported from Iran.[143] As in Kashmir, we find in Khuzistan (Iran) dead being buried under the house floor; and the burials were both of primary and secondary types.[144]

Animal burials are reported from many sites in Europe and Central Asia. However, contemporary to Kashmir Neolithic are the animals burials found at Dara-i-kur in Badakhshan, Afghanistan.[145] From the Neolithic levels the excavator found three burials of domestic goats. They tally with animal burials of Burzahom as they too are both complete and fractional, situated within the habitation and independent as well as along with human burials.[146] While the goat burial of Kashmir has affinity in the neighbouring Afghanistan, dog and horse burial was a widespread cultural trait of China.[147] The dog was apparently almost a cult animal in the Shilka cave culture of the Upper Amur;[148] and dogs were until recently sacrificed and buried with their owners among such peoples as the Gilyaks, Ulchis and

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141 Mongait, op. cit., pp. 97, 103, 104, 116, 122.
142 Chang, op.cit., pp. 42, 81; Groot, op.cit., p.66; Singh, op. cit., pp. 100, 150.
143 Ibid, pp. 167, 190; Mellaart, op, cit., pp.190, 191.
144 F. Hole and Flannery, 1962, op. cit., pp. 97- 148.
145 S.P. Gupta, op. cit., p. 89.
146 Ibid.
147 Loewe and Shaughnessy (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 1999, pp. 160, 162, 166, 167, 170, 178, 184, 189, 192, 196, 219-20, 225, 479, 727, 916, 918, 927.
148 Allchin and Allchin, op. cit., p. 116.

Goldis of this region.[149] The dog burials are also reported in the Ang-Ang His culture of Manchuria.[150] In the Xiajiadian culture (11th-4th century B.C.) a special place was reserved for dogs, whose remains have been found in both dwelling sites and sacrificial pits.[151]

Table – III
Parallels between the Neolithic of Kashmir and the Neolithic of Neighbouring World

CHINA

Cultural Items	Chronology	Name of the sites	
Pit -dwelling		Lung-ma, China-pong, Yang-Shao I, Pai-Sha-Sheng, His & Yin-T Sun, Pan-pot'sun, Ma-chia Yao, Huangho, and Lung Shan.	
Red painted burials		Upper caves and Pan- po-t'sun	
Animal burials (Remains of dog)		Ang-Ang-Hsi (Manchuria)	
Use of red ochre	Paleolithic times	Choukoutien caves	
Bone tools		i) **Lung Shan Culture** Shensi, Shansi, Honan, Hopei, Hupei, Liaoning, Fukien, Taiwan, Kwantung and Shantung ii) **Yang-Shaeo Culture** Yang-Shao-tun, Pan-post'sun Mien-chin-Hsien iii) **Ang-Ang-His culture** iv) **Yuan-Shan** v) **Hsiao-T'un**	
Stone tools		Rectangular or semilunar polished stone tools. Perforated stone harvesters	
Pottery		Hiao-T'un, Lung-shan, Aksu, Pan-Po T'sun,	Pottery is made by coiling method. Pot

149 Ibid.
150 Ibid
151 *The Cambridge History of China*, op. cit., pp. 916-18.

		Sha-Kuo-T'sun, Lin-His, Ang-Ang-His Upper Yangtse	has mat or basket impressions, brown in colour. Hand as well as wheel made pottery. Mat impression, brown in colour. Coarse, hand-made, grey, brown or red in colour and has basket impression
Floral remains	1300 B.C 3000 B.C		Wheat and barley. Rice

RUSSIA

Pit-dwelling	Upper Paleolithic sites Neolithic sites	Gagarino, Talmaskaya, Pushkari I Karelia, Tripole, Panfilova, Kalamatskii, Eberstadit, Frauenberg, Pushsovkhoz, Voi-Novolok, Gavrilovka
Red painted burials	Paleolithic Upper Paleolithic Neolithic	Malta Kostenki XV (Gorodsov's site) Mariupol Zhodnov Nalchik (N. of Caucasus) Olen Ostrov, Usatovo
Animal burials		
Use of red ochre		
Bone tools		Kangool (river Kinem) Charozero (river Moldon) Serovsky (lake Baikal
Stone tools		
Pottery		
Floral remains		
Faunal remains		

JAPAN

Pit-dwelling	**Early Jamon Period** Moroso culture Middle Jomon period Later Jomon period Final Jomon	Kurohoma Hills and Chiba Higashikasizuka, Shell mound of Yagayato and Oimato Ubayama and Dai Horinouchi

		Shinpukuji	
Red painted burials		Kamegaska, Miyato, Honshu, Cave Osakai and Kansu	
Bone tools	Early Jomon Period	Yokohama	
	Later Jomon period	Horinouchi culture Omori culture	
	Final Jomon period	Angyo culture Kamegaokara culture	
Perforated stone harvesters	Jomon period		

WEST ASIA

Pit-dwelling		Beidha (Levant), Abu Zureiq, Ramad (Levant), M'Lefaat (Iraq), Tepe Asiab (Iran), Tepe Sarab (Iran)	
Use of red ochre	7000 B.C.	Hacilar (Anatolia), Can Hassan	
Red painted burials		Ramad (Levant) Catal-Huyuk (Anatolia) Tepe-Asiab (Iran) Hajji Firuz Culture (Iran) Tepe Sialk II (Iran) Zagha and Tepe-Sagzaba (Iran) Tepe Hissar (Iran)	
Painting of house floor		Hacilar (Turkey) Can Hassan (Turkey) Deh-Luran Plain (Iran) Beidha (Levant)	
Bone tools	6750 B.C.	Jarmo	
Crops (wheat and barley)	7600 B.C. 6750 B.C.	Ali Kosh (Iran) Jermo Ali Kosh (Iraq	
Lentil and pea	8500 B.C		
Pottery		Hissar (Iran)	Motif of a wild goat with long curved horns. Channel spouted vessel.

SWAT VALLEY

Pit-dwelling	1700-1500 B.C.	Loebanr III Ghaligai IV	
Rectangular polished stone axes	1700 B.C.	Kalako-deray	
Floral remains	1700 B.C.	Loebrar III	Wheat and barley

Table – IV

Parallels between the Kashmir Neolithic and the Neolithic of the neighbouring Civilizations

Pit-dwelling

Country	Chronology	Site	
China		Lung-ma, China-pong, Yang-Shao I, Pai-Sha-Sheng, His & Yin-T Sun, Pan-pot'sun, Ma-chia Yao, Huangho, and Lung Shan.	
Russia	Upper Paleolithic sites Neolithic sites	Gagarino, Talmaskaya, Pushkari I Karelia, Tripole, Panfilova, Kalamatskii, Eberstadit, Frauenberg, Pushsovkhoz, Voi-Novolok, Gavrilovka	
West Asia		Beidha (Levant), Abu Zureiq, Ramad (Levant), M'Lefaat (Iraq), Tepe Asiab (Iran), Tepe Sarab (Iran)	
Indo-Pak Subcontinent	1700-1500 B.C.	Loebanr III Ghaligai IV (Swat Valley)	
Japan	**Early Jamon Period** Moroso culture Middle Jomon period Later Jomon period Final Jomon	Kurohoma Hills and Chiba Higashikasizuka, Shell - mound of Yagayato and Orimato Ubayama and Dai Horinouchi Shinpukuji	

Use of Red Ochre

West Asia	7000 B.C.	Hacilar (Anatolia), Can Hassan	
Djeitun (S.Turkmenia)	5000 B.C and 3600-3000	Depe and Chakmakli Depe	
Iran		Deh-Luran	

Baluchistan		Mehargarh	
Kashmir	2800	Burzahom, Gufkral	

RED PAINTED BURIALS

China		Upper caves and Pan- po-t'sun	
Russia	Paleolithic Upper Paleolithic Neolithic	Malta Kostenki XV (Gorodsov's site) Mariupol Zhodnov Nalchik (N. of Caucasus) Olen Ostrov, Usatovo	
Japan		Kamegaska, Miyato, Honshu, Cave Osakai and Kansu	
West Asia		Ramad (Levant) Catal-Huyuk (Anatolia) Tepe-Asiab (Iran) Hajji Firuz Culture (Iran) Tepe Sialk II (Iran) Zagha and Tepe-Sagzaba (Iran) Tepe Hissar (Iran)	
Balauchistan	7th-6th millennium B.C.	Mehargarh	
Kashmir	2000-1500 B.C	Burzahom II	

ANIMAL BURIALS

Afghanistan	2nd millennium B.C	Dara-i-Kur (Badkhshan)	Goat burial
China		Ang-Ang-His (Manchuria) Shielka Caves (Upper Amur) and many other regions	Dog Burial
Kashmir	2000-1500	Burzahom II	Both goat and dog burials

BONE TOOLS

China		I) **Lung Shan Culture** Shensi, Shansi, Honan, Hopei, Hupei, Liaoning, Fukien, Taiwan, Kwantung and Shantung	

		ii) **Yang-Shaeo Culture** Yang-Shao-tun, Pan-post'sun Mien-chin-Hsien iii) **Ang-Ang-His culture** iv) **Yuan-Shan** v) **Hsiao-T'un**	
Russia	Neolithic sites	Kangool (river Kinem) Charozero (river Moldon) Serovsky (lake Baikal)	
Japan	Early Jomon Period Later Jomon period Final Jomon period	Yokohama Horinouchi culture Omori culture Angyo culture Kamegaokara culture	
West Asia	6750 B.C.	Jarmo	
Central Asia (Turkmenia)	6000 B.C	Djeitun	
Northern Afghanstan	8000-4500 B.C.	Aq Kuprruk I & II	
Indo-Pak Subcontinent	7000-6000 B.C. 5th millennium B.C. 6th millennium B.C. 3000-2400 B.C. 4000 B.C.	Mehrgarh I, K.G.M., Rana Gundi, Sarai Khola Jalilpur	Awals and needles only
Kashmir	2800 B.C 2500-1500 B.C	Gufkral I (aceramic) Burzahom	

RECTANGULAR OR SEMILUNAR POLISHED STONE TOOLS

Northern China		**Manchuria Region** Shih-Pei-Ling Hung-shan-Hou Lin-His culture Ang-Ang-His **Sites beyond Manchuria** Lung-shan Tsao-Tu-Tai Ttsui-Chia-Chuang Hu-Shu-Chen Liang-chu Kuang-che (S. China) Yuan-Shan (Taiwan)	 Knife Knife Knives Knife Knife Knives Knife Knife Knives Knife Knife
Swat Valley IV	1700 B.C	Kalako-deray	Rectangular polished stone axes

Kashmir	2000-1500	Burzahom II	Knives and axes

CROPS
(Wheat and barley)

West Asia	7600 B.C. 6750 B.C.	Ali Kosh (Iran) Jermo Ali Kosh (Iraq)	Wheat and barley -do-
Central Asia	6740 B.C. 6500 B.C.	Hacilar (Turkey) Can Hassan --do-	
China	1300 B.C.		Wheat and barley
Swat valley		Loebanr III	
Baluchistan	6th-5th millennium B.C.	Mehargarh	Wheat and barley
Kashmir	3rd millennium B.C	Gufkral I	

Rice

China	3000B.C	Yang shai village	
Kashmir	1500-600 B.C.	Semthan	

Lentil and Pea

Mediterranean and south eastern Asia			
West Asia	8500 B.C		
Kashmir	2800 B.C. 2520 B.C.	Gufkral I (aceramic) Burzahom I	

Grapes

Baluchistan	Beginning of 3rd millennium B.C.	Mehargarh	Grapes
Kashmir	1500-600	Burzahom II	-do-

Peach, almond and Apricot

Western China			Peach
Central-western Asia			Almond
Western China			Apricot
Kashmir			Peach, almond and Apricot

POTTERY

China		Hiao-T'un, Lung-shan, Aksu,	Pottery is made by

		Sha-Kuo-T`sun, Lin-His, Ang-Ang-His Upper Yangtse	has mat or basket impressions, brown in colour. Hand as well as wheel made pottery. Mat impression , brown in colour. Coarse, hand-made, grey, brown or red in colour and has basket impression
Swat Valley		Loebnar III Ghaligai III	Black-grey burnished pottery. Pottery is coarse and gritty and has basket impression at the base.
Kashmir		Burzahom	-do-
Iran		Hissar	Motif of a wild goat with long curved horns
Kashmir		Burzahom II	Burzahom wheel made red ware pot carries the same figure.
Iran			Channel spouted vessel
Kashmir	1500 B.C.	Gufkral	-do-

COPPER HAIR PINS

Mediterranean regions			
Iran		Hissar III	
Turkistan		Anu	
Pakistan		Mhanjodaro, Chanhudaro, Jhukar	
Jammu		Manda	
Kashmir		Gufkral	

The rock art of Chilas and Swat, which formed the source of Kashmir rock art, is itself an extension of the rock art of trans-Pamir,

Siberian and Xin-Jiang region where it goes back to Paleolithic time.[152]

While the Naga cult transmitted to Kashmir from its immediate northern and western bordering territories, the original sources of this belief have to be searched elsewhere. Scholars have traced deep-rooted similarities of serpent symbology between pre-Aryan people living in the west of Kashmir[153] and the people of Middle East – Turanians, Kurds, Akkadians, Chaldeans, Persians[154] etc, suggesting that "they belonged to a common social and cultural stock."[155] Naga cult also prevailed in Khotan. The Naga worshippers of the Valley, it appears, had some connection with such of the tribes in the Khotan Oasis. This is corroborated by some identical myths. For example, Ashoka's son Jalauk is supposed to have entered the lake of Nagas by stopping the waters and had intercourse with Naga-maidens so as to give charm to his body.[156] More or less on a similar pattern Hieun Tsang narrates a legend as to how the widow of a Naga– a Nagin ceased the water of a stream east of Khotan's capital; and let the water flow when a minister of noble birth sacrificed himself by entering the stream and married her.[157] It is interesting to note that the worship of Nagin as snake goddess was prevalent in the West as well. An excellent and charming statue of snake goddess in ivory and gold dated 16th century B.C

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152 A. H. Dani, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, p. 91.

153 Buddha Parkash, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab, op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.

154 Ibid.

155 Ibid.

156 *Rajatarangini*, Book I, 108-111.

157 M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 227-253.

comes from Minoan – the Island of Crete in eastern Mediterranean.[158] Crete, as we know, occupied a prominent position in the development of the first distinctively Greek and also European civilization.

To sum, like any other region, the early history of Kashmir can not be understood unless we situate it in the context of global history. From time to time there emerged many centres of civilization in different parts of the globe and it was from these centres that cultures diffused and reached to different nooks of the world through secondary channels. In the case of Kashmir, the primary sources of its culture were Mesopotamia, Iran, China, Russia and Central Asia. However, the cultural traits of these centres of civilization did not migrate to Kashmir directly. Instead they slowly transmitted to its neighbourhood stage by stage through migrations and trade where from Kashmir imported them consequent upon the arrival of new people from these areas. The neighbourhood, which acted as the immediate source of Kashmir culture, was what we prefer to call Dardistan. It comprised Gilgit, Astor, Chilas, Hazara, Potwar region (present, Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Taxila) and Swat.

While the main evidence of Kashmir being a part of the cultural complex of Shina speaking neighbourhood (Gilgit, Astor, Chilas etc.) is Kashmiri language and the rock art, the intimate affinity between Kashmir and its ~~southern~~ western borderlands is not only supported by philology but more so by archaeology. The finds of various early sites

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158 J. D. Penlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete – An introduction*, London, 1939, p. 273.

of Swat, Potwar region, and Kashmir leave no room to doubt that they belong, in the words of Allchin and Allchin "to a single complex."[159]

[159] Allchin and Allchin, op. cit., 116.

FROM THE MEGALITHIC PERIOD TO THE BEGINNING Of 300 B.C: Search for the Roots

In chapter II we saw that Megalithism began in Kashmir around 1500 B.C. We also saw that besides having maintained continuity of the cultural traits of the Neolithic period, the Megalithic culture of Kashmir also saw some new additions, namely, menhirs, cist graves, rice and millet cultivation, iron and rubble structures.

Parallels of the Megalithic Culture of Kashmir

Menhirs:

Megaliths have been found in the lands bordering upon the Mediterranean and the Atlante, in the Caucasus and in Iran.[1] In the Indian sub-continent, peninsular India was the stronghold of the Megalithic culture.[2] There the *menhirs* were regarded as memorial stones.[3] Megaliths have also been found at some places of north and north-eastern India.[4] However in the context of Kashmir the nearest most places where megaliths have been found are Baluchistan and

1 Philip Van Doren Stern, *Prehistoric Europe*, pp. 247-258.

2 *Ancient India*, No. 4, 4; No. 2, pp. 9-16; H. Sarkar, "Some Aspects of Megalithic Culture in India," in *Puratattva*, No. 11, pp. 49-55; N. R. Benerjee, *The Iron Age in India*, pp. 40-67.

3 Ibid.

4 J. H. Hutton, "Prehistory of Assam," in *Man in India*, Vol. VII, 1928, pp. 228-32

Dardistan particularly Yasin and Chitral. Biddulph was the first to describe the megaliths of Glizr and Yasin valleys.

> In the Woorshigoom and Kho valleys, a number of remarkable stone tables of great antiquity are found. They are about 3feet in diameter, and are formed of huge boulders, arranged with great precision with a flat side outwards, so placed as to form a perfect circle about 3 1/2 feet high. On these are placed a number of flattish boulders of nearly equal size, projecting a few inches beyond the edge of the circle all round. The centre is filled with small stones and rubbish, which may or may not have been as originally intended. The labour of transporting and placing in position such huge blocks must have been immense. The local tradition is that they were the work of giants in old days. At Chashi and Yassin there are collections of several of these tables. Between these points and the upper part of the Woorshigoom Valley there are single tables scattered about... The circle in most perfect preservation is situated on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the river near Goopis. Vigne mentions having been told to these circles when at Astor. They are in all probability funeral mounds.[5]

Writing about the widespread megalithic culture in Yasin Dhani writes "In Yasin the scattered boulders, cut into rectangular shape, are still seen standing in the fields. However, in the *bagh* (garden) of a local villager, by name Ishaq, there is one big circle of stones having a diameter of 33 feet with upright stones numbering forty...the big megalithic circle tomb appears to be monumental in origin ... only future excavations can determine the exact nature of these tombs."[6]

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5 J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh*, pp. 57-58.

6 A.H. Dani, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, p. 104.

Notwithstanding the fact that the menhirs have been found in Europe, Caucasus, Iran and different parts of East and South-East Asia, satisfactory associations of menhirs are scarcely obtainable. Yet barring a few they are either sepulchral or commemorative, or ritualistic in character. The menhirs of Kashmir pose a puzzling problem. They are non-sepulchral, alignment type and some of them bear cup marks. Were the Kashmir menhirs ceremonial stones? This is an open question. Surely they point to the domination of Kashmir by a new group. As among the immediate borderland territories of Kashmir we find a widespread culture of megaliths in Chitral and Yasin, it is perhaps reasonable to conclude that the new people came from this direction. These people had themselves borrowed this culture from others. It had perhaps its source in Mediterranean region. It traveled all the way from its place of origin undergoing long journeys till it reached the Hindu Kush and the Karakoram as, for example, is the case of the trunniion axes found in Darel valley datable to 2nd millennium B.C.[7] Dr. Mughal remarks about them " The trunnion axes are linked typologically with those known from the Mediterranean region, Europe, trans-Caucasia and northern Iran."[8] Prof Karl Jettmar observes that the occurrence of trunnion axes of western type in northern Pakistan indicates penetration of Caucasian elements into the steppes and eastwards in the Pamir and then in the Hindukush and the Karakorum.[9] Significantly enough, the megalithic pattern of Kashmir points to western affiliation. For example, like European menhirs they form a semicircle and fall under the alignment type of megaliths. Also,

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7 Ibid. p. 105.

8 Quoted by Dani, Ibid p. 105.

as observed in Kashmir, some of the menhirs in plains of Salisbury, South England also bear cup marks.[10] It is also significant to mention here that the menhirs of the Peninsular India also point to the influence of the west and chronologically they are younger to the Megaliths of Chitral and Yasin.[11]

Cist Graves:

Alongside Megaliths different types of archaeological data has been reported from the Valley that speaks of the penetration of an entirely different people, belonging to the so-called 'Gandhara Grave Culture'. As already mentioned, some cist graves have been recently reported from a high plateau on the left bank of river Lidder near Pahalgam. These graves are like box-chambers with orthostats on the four sides surmounted by cap stones. The grave goods included pottery (some pots besmeared with red ochre internally), copper rings and wire, shell and some such objects. In one of the smaller pots with flaring rim, smoothened neck and sides, a tooth and some isolated bones probably of a human being were also reported.[12]

The nearest parallels of the cist graves of Kashmir are found in Swat and in many neighbouring valleys– Dir, Chitral etc. collectively called 'Gandhara Grave Culture.'[13] The principal sites so far published

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9 Ibid.

10 Shali, op. cit., p. 91.

11 Ibid, p. 94.

12 Asha Hanley, "Kists in Kashmir," *Times of India Magizine*, December 2, 1979.

13 For details about "Gandhara Grave Culture," see C. Silvi Antonini and G. Stacul, *The Protohostoric Graveyards of Swat*, 2 Vols. Rome, 1972; A.H. Dani *et al*, "Timargarha and the Gandhara Grave Culture," *Ancient Pakistan*, No. 3, 1967.

are Katelai I, Loebanr I, and Timargarha, all in Swat.[14] The broad chronology of the graves appears to cover a wide spread. Katelai I produced five samples dated between 1500 and 200 BC; from Timargarha two samples gave dates of 1710 and 1020 B.C; while from Barama two samples were dated to 800-430 B.C.[15] The graves consist for the most part of an oblong pit sometimes with dry stone walling and generally with stone slabs to form a roof.[16] The pit was often dug in the floor of an upper larger pit, which was filled with soil and charcoal after the burial and often surrounded by a rough stone circle. Children's remains were sometimes placed inside a smaller cist with stone slabs for walls.[17] The great majority contained inhumations with one or two skeletons. A minority of the graves contained cremated ashes, sometimes gathered in pottery cist, or 'box-urn' with flat lid, or large urn with a 'face' decoration consisting of appliqué and cut-out features. Some burials were of collected bones.[18] The grave goods included large quantities of distinctive plain pottery, either buff-red or grey. Metal objects include those of copper or bronze and much more rarely objects of iron.[19] "The obvious comparisons" say Allchin and Allchin "for these objects and for the graves themselves are not to be in India or Pakistan, but in Iran and the Caucasus."[20]

The presence of menhirs and cist graves shows that two culture groups came to Kashmir during the period. One belonging to menhir

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14 Ibid.
15 Ibid
16 Ibid
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid
19 Ibid
20 Allchin and Allchin, op. cit. pp. 239-40.

culture and the other to the cist grave culture. The menhir culture group had connections with Chitral and Yasin and the cist grave culture had links with Swat and further down with Indus Kohistan. It may, however, be mentioned that 'Gandhara Grave culture' had made rapid strides in Menhir culture zone as well. Hence both the cultures obtained simultaneously in some areas, namely Chitral.[21] In some zones as Chilas and Darel only pit graves have been reported so far.[22] Since the megaliths of Kashmir are not associated with any skeletal remains and the cist grves do not possess menhirs except slab stones and as menhirs are spread in different parts, somewhere overlapping the Neolithic settlements and somewhere showing fresh settlements, it seems that the immigrants came in different tribal groups and each of them occupied different *karewas*.

Rice:

The original homeland of rice (*oryza sativa*) is still a matter of debate despite the fact that among all the cereals it was a late comer. However, the most important claimants as homeland of rice, at least in Asian context, are: South East Asia, India and China. In India the wild variety of rice is reported from protoneolithic levels at Chopane Mando, a Mesolithic settlement in Ganga valley datable to B.C 9000-8000.[23] The oldest records of cultivated rice are from Mahagara and

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21 *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*, p. 104.

22 Ibid.

23 G. R. Sharma, V. D. Misra and J. N. Pal, "Excavation at Mahadaha (A Mesolithic Settlement in Ganga Valley)."

Koldi (U.P.) dated B.C 7000-6000.[24] Until recently it was believed that it was from India that rice culture spread into different parts of South East Asia, Thieland, Vietnam and West and south China. However, the most recent investigations jointly undertaken by Sino-American team headed by Yan Wenming and Richard S. MacNeish have established a far earlier date of the rice cultivation in China. Examining the two caves in Wannian country, northern Jiangxi, downstream along the Yangzi River from Hunan, they have brought to light rice pollen and phytoliths of *Oryza Sativa*, both domesticated and wild, from layers of both caves tentatively dated by radiocarbon to just under 10,000 years ago.[25]

The nearest source which transferred rice culture to Kashmir is Swat where rice was cultivated not latter than mid third millennium B.C.[26] Referring to the multi-cropping agriculture system of Swat Costantini writes, "Wheat, barley, and rice formed part of the diet in Swat by the mid third millennium."[27] Swat itself borrowed the rice culture from China with which it had trade and other contacts. To quote Allchin and Allichin, "The presence of rice in Swat is

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24 G. R. Sharma and D. Mandal, *Excavation at Mahagara* 1977-78 (A Neolithic Settlement in the Belan Valley), *Archaeology of the Vindhyas and the Ganga Valley*, 6, Allahabad.

25 Richard S. MacNeish and Jane Libby (eds.), *Preliminary Report of the Sino-American Jiangxi Origin of Rice Agriculture Project* (draft copy), publication in *Anthropology*, no. 13, University of Taxes at EJ Paso, 1995, Vide. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 1999,p.46.

26 Costantini, L.1987, *Vegetal Remains in Prehistoric and Protohistoric Swat*, pp. 155-165, IsMEO, Rome.

27 Ibid.

particularly interesting. So too is the evidence of trade and other more profound contacts with the Chinese world."[28]

Millet:

In North China the earliest cultivated millets discovered in the world have been unearthed at a number of sites classified as Cishan or Peilgang culture.[29] The earliest site of this culture found so far was excavated in 1986 near Nanzhuangtou Village in Xushui country in Southern Hebei.[30] Several radio carbon dates from Charcoal samples place the site very close to 10,000 years ago.[31] Although wild species of both genera – *Setaria italica* and *Panicum miliaceum*, the two pillars of Old World millet culture – are found through Eurasia, and paleobotanical research of the initial cultivation of millets has not yet been started, we can say that in view of the great antiquity of known millet remains in north China, there is a strong presumption that both may have been first cultivated in the Yellow River Valley.[32]

It was from China that the technology of millet cultivation spread first in the neighbourhood of Kashmir and then in the Valley. It is of extreme significance to note that after the Chinese word *peilgang*, millet is called *penge*, in Kashmiri. This is unambiguously a derivative of *peilgang* (millet). As is true of many other crops, it was again Swat which diffused the millet cultivation to Kashmir. With the introduction of rice and millet as well as horse (which we find being domesticated

28 For a brief mention of Swat's trade contacts with China, see Allchin and Allchin, p. 116.

29 Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, pp. 87- 95.

30 *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, op. cit., p.45.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid., pp. 45-46

towards the end of the Neolithic period) a new socio-economic pattern emerged in Kashmir. This observation agrees with Meadow's view that "The second agricultural revolution in this part of the Middle East comes with the introduction of rice, millet, sorghum, camel and horse."[33]

Distant and Immediate sources of Kashmir's Metallurgy:

Copper

The first metal to have ever come under man's control was copper; and all signs point to eastern Mediterranean zone as the place of its origin in around B.C 4000.[34] The first ever copper-bronze culture evolved at Sumer in B.C 3500.[35] It also flourished in Egypt around the same time.[36] In the Indus Valley the metal became common around B.C 3000.[37] Bronze age was well established in Persia in around B.C 2000.[38] It was a late comer to China – Sang period (B.C 1500-1100).[39] Thus by the time copper was found in Kashmir (B.C 2000-1500), copper and bronze had already assumed an important position in its neighbourhood as raw material for military hardware, agricultural tools and utencils. It is quite probable that the metal was introduced

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33 Meadow, R.H, (1987). " Faunal Exploitation in Eastern Iran and Baluchistan: A Review of Recent Investigations. In *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* II, edited by G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, pp 881-916. IsMEO, Rome.

34 Holt, Rinehatr and Winston. *The science of Man* (An introduction to Anthropology), p. 135.

35 Ibid., p. 306.

36 Ibid., p. 309.

37 Ibid., p. 314.

38 Hans E. Wulff, *Traditional Crafts of Persia*, p. 4.

39 *The Science of Man*, op. cit., p. 316.

into Kashmir from Swat and Gilgat with which Kashmir was intimately connected. It may be mentioned that 'comparatively high number of copper weapons' were found in proto-historic Swat[40] and a large horde of bronze objects including specimens of trunnion axes were discovered at a spot in the Gilgat Karakorom.[41]

Iron:

The earliest known occurrence of iron used as a human artifact are from West Asia (North Syria and Iraq) dated third millennium B.C.[42] But what may be called the "Iron Age" it began probably nowhere before 1300 B.C.[43] The evidence of the use of Iron in Iran is very crucial for the study of emergence of Iron in Indian Sub-continent as well as in Kashmir. Cuyler Young has suggest for Iran three periods of the Iron Age which start respectively at 1300, 1000 and 750 B.C.[44] According to Benerjee iron working began in India as early as 1000 B.C and became more common around 800 B.C.[45]

For Kashmir the evidence of iron working in Gandhara region is very crucial if we bear in mind the fact that Kashmir was geographically as well as culturally a part of Gandhara. Iron objects have been found in Gandhara graves. These are assignable to the opening of the first millennium B.C.[46] It is around the same period that we find iron in Kashmir.

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40 Antonini and Stacul, op. cit.

41 Karl Jettmar, "Bronze Axes from the Karakorum: Results of the 1958 Expedition in Azad Kashmir." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 105 (i), 1961, pp. 98-104.

42 N. R. Banerjee, *Iron Age in India*, p. 106.

43 Allchin and Allchin, op. cit., p. 309.

44 Cuyler Young, "The Iranian migration into the Zargos" in *Iran-Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 5, 1967, pp. 11-34.

45 Benerjee, op. cit.

46 Allchin and Allchin, op. cit., pp. 311-12.

Stone Walled House:

The Megalithic period witnessed a transition from mud or mud-brick wall constructions to stone walled houses at ground level. This innovation occurred in Swat around 1700 B.C[47] along with multi-cropping system, introduction of horses, the massive spread of grey burnished ware, the occurrence of different articles as shell, coral, faience, lapis-lazuli, jade and gold, copper weapons and agriculture and implements particularly rectangular holed stone sickles.[48] Since in the context of Swat these changes have been explained in the context of wide-ranging cultural exchanges/ networks including immigration events particularly of Indo-Aryan tribes,[49] the same may hold true of Kashmir as well, though all evidence points to the immigration of these new people through Dardistan – Gilgat, Chilas, Astor, Chitral, Swat and Indus Kohistan.

The period I of Semthan is marked by the presence of Pre-Northern Black Polished ware datable to 700-500 B.C. The pottery forms bear generic relationship with the late phase of the post-Harappan pottery of Banawali and Bara phase of the plains of Punjab and Haryana.[50] The evidence definitely points to the arrival of a new set of people possible one of the groups of the Indo-Aryan tribes.

In 516 B.C, Darius, the Achaemenian ruler of Iran, extended his empire upto India by annexing Sindh, North-West Frontier and the

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47 Giorgio Stacul, "Swat, Pirak and Connected Problems (Mid- 2nd Millinnium B.C.)" in *South Asian Archaeology*, 1989, p. 268.

48 Ibid., pp. 268-69.

49 Ibid., p 49.

50 G.M. Buth, R.S. Bisht and G.S. Gaur, " Investigation of Palaeobotanical remains from Semthan", Vol. VI, Pune, 1982, pp. 41-45.

part of Punjab. These territories continued to be a part of Iranian empire till Alexander's invasion in 326 B.C. We learn from the Greek sources that at the time of Iranian Invasion Kashmir was a part of Gandhara. It is, therefore, quite probable that Kashmir too might have remained under the Achaemenians during their long rule of about two hundred years over Gandhara, paving the way for Iranian influences in Kashmir. Although about India, particularly with regard to Mauryas, we have some information of Persian influences, the evidence about Kashmir is lacking. Given the fact that the developments on its immediate borderlands particularly those situated on its western borders always influenced Kashmir and that Mauryas ruled the Valley for a pretty long time as we shall see in the following pages, it is reasonable to conclude that Kashmir too would have got exposed to these influences even if, for the sake of argument, we presume that Kashmir did not form a part of Achaemenian rule. It is, therefore, germane to make a mention of the Persian influences on Mauryas:[51]

(i) We gather from Megasthenes that Mauryan emperors used to live in purely Persian style. Like Persian monarchs they lived in seclusion, only appearing for solemn occasions, such as 'hair–washing festival'.

(ii) Similarly, the Buddhist architecture of Ashoka, with its bell-capitals and winged lions, shows many traces of Persian or Assyrian influences received through Persia.

(iii) Asoka's plan of propagating Dharma by means of inscriptions upon rocks is simply a remnant of similar

[51] This information has been borrowed from, Saifur Rahman Dar, *Taxila*, pp. 187-88.

practice in vogue among Persians e.g. inscriptions at Behistun, Persepolis and Naksh-e-Rustam.

(iv) The royal road running throught the Mauryan empire, along which Megasthenes travelled, finds its parallel in the Royal Road (*Jada-e-Shah*) of the Achaemenians.

(v) The idea of using stone by Mauryan artists in place of wood, brick, and stucco seems to have been suggested by the Persians.

(vi) The palace and other buildings of Pataliputra are modelled on the palace of Darius at Persipolis or Takht-i-Jamshid seems to be the work of Persian masons. The cave of Barbar, or "Stone Chambers" of Heiun Tsang, are copied from the royal Tombs of the Persian Kings.

(vii) The use of Kharoshti script by Ashoka and others in later centuries was developed out of Aramaic script introduced here by the Achaemenians.

(viii) The opening phrase "Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty" which recurs in so many documents of Ashoka, recalls the phraseology of the Achaemenian records.

(ix) The little Satrap, or Kshatrapa–so common in local annals uptil 4th cent. A.D.– was also a Persian one and occurs twice in the inscription of Behistun. It was not used by Mauryans. But later on it was very popular.

At the time of Alexander's invasion Kashmir is said to have been under the rule of Abhisara (Hazara),[52] which further substantiates

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52 Sec chapter II

the evidence we get so profusely from archaeology, philology and literary sources that Kashmir and its immediate north and west belonged to the same complex geographically, culturally as well as politically.

Table – V

Percentage of cereals in Agriculture on the basis of crop remains recovered from Burzahom and Semthan

Site	Period	Wheat	Barley	Rice	Oat s	Total Percentage of cereal
Burzahom	Phase I Aceramic Neolithic (2520-2000B.C)	78.5%	21.5%	x	x	73.68%
Burzahom	Phase II Mature Neolithic (2000-1500)	73.68%	26.32	x	x	67.5%
Burzahom	Phase III Megalithic (1000 -700 B.C)	65.9%	25%	9.1%	x	62.8%
Semthan	Phase I Pre-NBP (700-500 B.C)	30.8%	14.4%	55.8%	x	85%
Burzahom	Post Megalithic Phase IV (600-200 B.C)	60%	25%	14.50%	x	54.4%
Semthan	Period II NBP Phase (600-200 B.C)	25%	56.25%	17.5%	1.1%	78.8%
Semthan	Period III (200 B.C-001 A.D)	4.4%	67.6%	23.5%	4.4%	80%
Semthan	Period IV Kushan (001-500 A.D)	39.3%	27.8%	28%	4.5%	72.3%

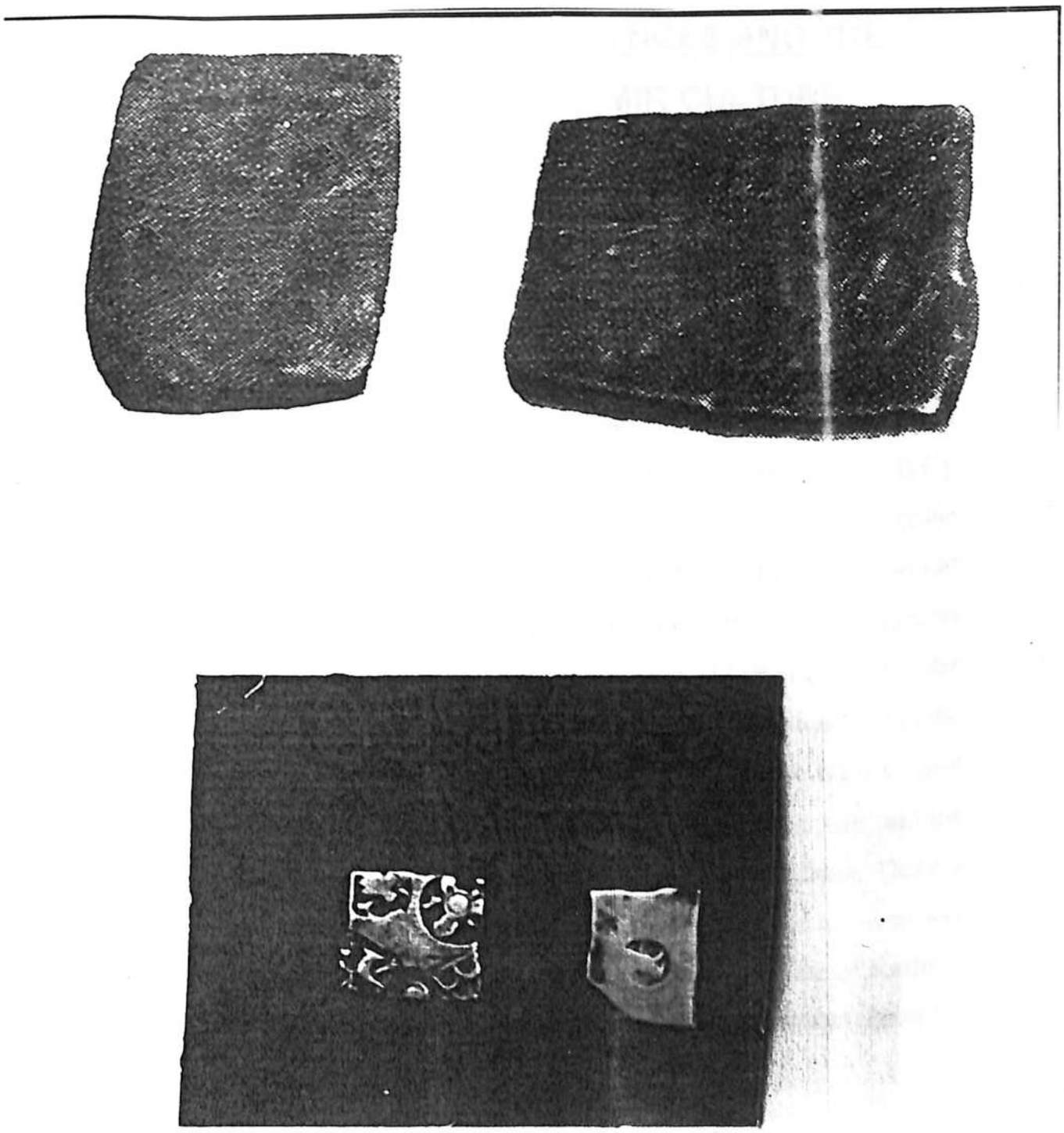

Fig 4.1 **Punch Marked Coins**

THE MAURYAN INFLUENCES AND THE GROWTH OF KASHMIR CULTURE

Towards the beginning of the third century B.C there emerged a vast empire on the borders of Kashmir which included a major part of the Indian subcontinent and extended upto eastern Afghanistan. It was the Mauryan empire founded by Chandragupta Maurya (321 B.C). Given the past as well as future history of Kashmir and considering the might of Chandragupta, it is most probable that Kashmir too would have fallen into the hands of Mauryas no soone did they conquer its neighbourhood – Gandhara. It may be mentioned that according to the Buddhist texts Kashmir and Gandhara formed one political unit in the pre-Asokan days.[1] This is also corroborated by Greek records[2] and *Milindapanha*;[3] the former calls Kashmir as Gandharic city and the latter compounded the two territories as Kashmira-Gandhara. There is also a track record that whenever Gandhara fell into the hands of any power, it had its immediate impact upon the political fate of Kashmir too. However, the sources are silent about this development albeit the

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1 Nalinaksha Dutt, *Buddhism in Kashmir*, Delhi, p. 5.
2 Raychahaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India, p. 103.*
3 *Milindapanha*, p. 331.

excavator of the Semthan site believes that the beginning of Semthan NBP could be much before the time of Asoka.[4]

Although nothing can be said with certainty about the fall out of the Mauryan occupation of the neighbourhood of Kashmir upon the latter, we have clear evidence in the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana that Kashmir was a part of the Mauryan empire during the reign of Asoka[5] (269-232 B.C.), though we have to give allowance for the error he makes in representing Asoka as the local ruler.[6] After all, Kalhana had to depend upon the folklore for the early history of Kashmir. Minus this error, Asoka is the first ruler among the early rulers recorded by Kalhana about whom we have a genuine tradition.

The Semthan excavations resolved the controversy about the real identity of Asoka – the controversy, which had arisen among the scholars because of the misrepresentation of him as a local ruler by the Kashmir tradition which was accepted by Kalhana on its face value. Semthan has yielded two significant traits of the Mauryan culture, namely Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) and punch marked coins.[7] Not only NBPW has been found but its associated types such as Black Slipped Ware, Plain Red Ware and Grey Wares were also found.[8] Having a broad uniformity with the ceramic industry of India, this early historic pottery indicates an obvious contact with the plains

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4 R.S. Bisht, " Reflection on Burzahom and Semthan Excavation" in G. M. Buth (ed.),*Central Asia and Western Himalayas– A Forgotten Link*, p. 56.

5 *Rajatarangini*, tr. M. A. Stein, Book,i, 101-106.

6 Ibid., 101.

7 *Indian Archaeology– A Review*, 1978-79, p. 70; 1980-81, p. 21; 1981-82, p. 16.

8 Ibid.

of India. The NBP culture has also been found at other sites such as Buna Gantamulla and Kanshipur in Baramulla.[9]

Although Kalhana mentions Asoka as a local ruler, his brief but significant information about the king marks him out as the Mauryan emperor. He refers him as a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha and builder of numerous *stupas*.[10] Kalhana's representation of the king as a pious follower of the teaching of Buddha is in full agreement with historical fact as vouched for by Asoka's own famous inscriptions. The reminiscences which Kashmir tradition has retained of this great ruler, though scanty as they are, claim special interest as they point to the exemplary role played by the King in shaping the culture of Kashmir – too exemplary to be forgotten even after the lapse of centuries together. That the famous Mauryan ruler ruled Kashmir is also corroborated by Hieun Tsang (A.D 625) who saw Asokan *Stupas* in the Valley.[11] Also, in the *Mahavmsa*, Kashmir is grouped with other outlying territories of the empire of Asoka.[12]

Jalauka, whom, the tradition, preserved by Kalhana, represents as the son and successor of Asoka, appears before us as the popular hero. He is described as a great warrior who cleared the land of the oppressing *mlecchas* (Indo-Greeks) and effected extensive conquests.[13] From the subdued land he is supposed to have brought settlers to Kashmir,[14] and to have established here for the first time a

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9 Ibid., 1981-82, p. 16.
10 *Rajatarangini*, op. cit., Book. i, 102-3.
11 *Si- Yu- Ki*, tr. Beel, I, p. 150.
12 *Mahavamsa*, XII, 3.
13 *Rajatarangini*, i, 107, 115-117
14 Ibid., 117-19.

complete system of administration.[15] Tradition portrays him a pre – eminent pious Saiva.[16] It is, however, impossible for us to verify the authenticity of this Kashmiri tradition regarding Jalauka.

The Mauryan rule which lasted for not less than eighty years (even if we presume that Kashmir came under the control of Mauryas only during the reign of Asoka) forms a significant phase in the history of Kashmir as it brought Kashmir and the Indian-subcontinent closer to each other beyond precedent. Until then Kashmir was intimately related only to a very limited area of Indian sub-continent, namely North-West Frontier, especially Hazara, Swat and Potwar region. Now Kashmir got connected with the heart of India – middle Gangetic plains, which set a stage for extending and deepening Kashmir's relations with distant parts of India as we see in the subsequent centuries.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the Mauryas as great empire builders is that besides having integrated India politically, efforts were also made to achieve cultural unification of the country. The existence of inscriptions, occasional NBPW potsherds and punch marked coins in Bengal, Orissa, Andhra, Karnataka as well as in Kashmir (in Kashmir, however, no inscriptions have been found so far) from near about 300 B.C shows that attempts were made to spread elements of the middle Gangetic basin culture in distant areas.[17]

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15 Ibid., 118-120.

16 Ibid., 113.

17 Upto 1980-81, about 450 NBP sites were found in different parts of India. Vide, R. S. Sharma, Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India, pp. 104-5.

As is true of other parts of their empire, the Mauryan culture spread in the Valley through different channels. The occupation of distant lands like Kashmir necessitated not only deputing trusted governors, top officials and army contingents from the centre to rule on behalf of the central authority, but it entailed more than that – creating a local supporting structure by encouraging migrations to Kashmir from the heart lands of the empire and establishing new settlements under the patronage of the state. The process seems to be in accord with the inscriptions of Kautilya. Kautilya advised that new settlements should be founded with the help of cultivators, who were apparently Vaishyas, and with that of Shudra labourers who should be drafted from overpopulated areas.[18] That new culture groups having Gangetic association were settled in different parts of the Valley is evidenced by Semthan finds and many more NBP sites, namely, Buna Gantamulla and Kanshipura in Baramulla.[19] As the Mauryan culture was the culture of the ruling class, it became a 'reference culture'. In other words all those who aspired a membership of a high culture it became necessary for them to see their faces through the mirror of Mauryan culture.

Another and the most effective channel through which Mauryan culture diffused in Kashmir was the missionaries who, as we shall see, were sent to Kashmir for winning conversions to Buddhism. These missionaries established *sangramas* (monasteries) at different nooks of the valley under the patronage of the state. It may be in place to mention here that there are many villages in Kashmir named as

18 Kautliya, *Arthshastra*, pp. 1, 11.

19 *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1978-79; 1980-81, p. 21; 1981-82, p. 16.

sangram, obviously because these settlements came into existence around the *sangramas* established there.[20] With the establishment of *sangramas* in different parts of Kashmir, the Indian culture got diffused in the whole Valley.

The Mauryan conquest also opened doors for trade with different parts of Indian sub-continent. Besides importing and exporting the commodities, the traders acted as effective transmitters of Indian culture to Kashmir.

For a proper understanding and appreciation of the impact of the Mauryan culture upon Kashmir it is pertinent to know the salient features of this culture. The material culture in the Gangetic basin was based on an intensive use of iron, prevalence of writing, plenty of punch-marked coins, abundance of beautiful pottery (NBPW), introduction of burnt bricks and ring wells and above all the rise of towns.[21] As far as administrative and ideological apparatus of the Mauryas is concerned they developed an elaborate administrative mechanism and had a vast bureaucracy working under royal absolutism. From Asoka onwards Buddhism was the governing ideology of the state.

Intensive use of iron

On account of the contacts with Mauryas Kashmir entered into a complete Iron Age era, though except a few iron objects iron tools of the period have not survived to us.[22] Having easy access to the rich iron ores of south Bihar, the people of the Gangetic plains had made

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20 I know at least two villages carrying the name of Sangram. One is situated at Tral and another near Sopore.

21 For details, see R. S. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.

an intensive use of iron by the time Kashmir was conquered by the Mauryas. They used iron implements such as socketed axes, sickles and ploughshare which spread to the outlying areas particularly those which formed a part of the Mauryan empire.[23] It is important to mention that the ploughshare of Kashmiri plough takes after typologically the Mauryan ploughshare; and it is also interesting to mention that some Kashmiri ploughs closely resemble with the ploughs operating in India.[24]

Promotion of Rice Culture:

Alongside popularizing plough cultivation, the Mauryan impact also accounted for the promotion of rice culture in Kashmir.[25] Undoubtedly we see rice in Kashmir before the Mauryas, but wheat and barley were still preferred crops because of the habit of mind. After all, these crops were the staple cereals of Kashmir right from the time domestication of agriculture began in Kashmir. During the Mauryas rice was the staple cereal in eastern Utter Pradesh and Bihar. What is more, we find the practice of transplantation of paddy obtaining in the middle Gangetic plains since about 500 B.C.[26] It is most probable that the practice spread to Kashmir as well. It may be mentioned that the wet rice cultivation is the only kind of rice cultivation known in the history of Kashmir; and transplantation is one

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22 In the Gangetic plains too very few iron artifacts survived. Ibid.

23 Ibid, pp. 92, 93, 117.

24 Abdul Waheed, *Traditional Agricultural Technology of Kashmir*, M. Phil dissertation, History Department, Kashmir University, p. 77.

25 See Table V.

26 R. S. Sharma, op. cit., p. 96.

of the popular traditional practices, the other being broadcasting (*wootur*)

The introduction of iron ploughshare and gradual shift from rain fed crops by wet rice cultivation ushered in an agriculture revolution in Kashmir. Not only that now it became easier to bring new lands under cultivation, but what is more the per unit productivity of rice was many times more than the traditionally grown rain fed cereals.[27] This is the reason that with the popularity of rice cultivation the traditional pattern of the rural settlements also changed drastically. Since paddy could be grown in the valley floor only, the people moved to the habitable low lying areas in preference to the table lands (*wadurs*) as was customary until then.[28] Not surprisingly, therefore, the land-man ratio in the Valley floor presents a contrast to the land-man ratio obtaining in the *karewas*: in the Valley floor population is far greater than the availability of land. Reverse is the case in the *Karewa* ecotypes. This is the legacy of the times when rice cultivation assumed currency in Kashmir.

Northern Black Polished Ware:

As is true of other places which came into contact with the Mauryas, the period witnessed the introduction of the finest pottery type ever to be developed in India – the Northern Black Polished Ware. It developed around 500 B.C and is associated with the life of

27 For a vast difference in per unit productivity between rice and rain-fed crops in pre-modern Kashmir, see *Dastur al Amali Kashmir* known as *Tarikh-i-Kalan* written towards the mid of the 19th century.

28 For example, Semthan, which is a historical site, is situated comparatively at low level than Gufkral.

Gautama Buddha, his contemporary personalities and the Mauryas.[29] From its homeland in the central Ganga plain, it travelled through administrators, traders and missionaries to Taxila and Charsada – two famous cities of Gandhara in the north, to distant places in the south like Amaravati on the Krishna, to west as far as Somnath and in the east to Gaur and Panduva in east Bengal.[30] With its discovery in the Valley the evidence of the extent of Mauryan sway and its cultural impact upto Kashmir has been established beyond doubt. In the Valley the NBP was first found at Semthan.[31] It was associated with red and grey wares (600-200 B.C).[32] Subsequently in course of exploration many more NBP ware sites like Buna-Gautamulla and Kansipur were spotted.[33] A few shreds were also encountered at the later phase of Burzahom and Gufkral settlements.[34] The wide distribution of the NBP ware not only indicates the wide spread impact of NBP culture upon Kashmir but it also shows that the period witnessed the introduction of the technology of this deluxe pottery. This technology was apparently introduced in Kashmir by the Indian potters who accompanied Mauryan administrators and Buddhist missionaries. The NBP ware was extremely glossy and shinning type of pottery serving as the tableware of richer people. It was made of fine fabric. To produce the glossy surface of the NBP a coating of alkali, acting as a flux, and producing, under reduced firing conditions, a fine black

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29 For details, see "Proceedings of the Seminar on OCP and NBP", *Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society* 5, 1971-2, and B. P. Sinha (ed), *Potteries of the Ancient India*, Patna, n.d.

30 Ibid. Also, see H. D. Sankalia, *Indian Archaeology Today*, p. 11.

31 *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1978-79, p. 70 and 1980-81, p. 21.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid, 1981-82, p. 16.

gloss, was applied.[35] The NBP represents the technical skill of the early Indian potter at its best. So is true of the Kashmiri potter who showed remarkable imitative power in producing this what is also called "prince among the Indian potteries."

Burnt bricks and

ring wells:

In the Mauryan period burnt bricks and ring wells appeared for the first time in the Gangetic plains and simultaneously spread in the outlying provinces of the empire.[36] Although no evidence of the use of burnt bricks has come to light so far, traditional wells of Kashmir, dug for drinking water purposes, are of ring well type, with their walls made of stone.

Stone Architecture:

The main activity which Kalhana attributes to Asoka as a ruler of Kashmir is the construction of Stupas, Viharas, Caityas and temples.[37] Four of his Stupas even existed at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit to the Valley in the middle of the seventh century A.D.[38] Spade has yet to uncover any trace of these earlier structures. We also do not know anything of their architectural details except what Kalhana says about a Caitya built by Asoka that its "height could not

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34 Ibid.

35 For details, see K.T.M. Hegde, "*Analysis of Ancient Indian Deluxe wares*," in *Archaeo – Physika*, 10, 1978, 141-55.

36 R.S. Sharma, op. cit., p. 100.

37 *Rajatarangini* (tr. Stein), Book I, 102-3.

38 *Si-yu-ki*, op. cit., p. 150.

be reached by the eye."[39] Equally important is the mention that the king removed "the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of Vijayesvara, built [in its stead] a new one of stone."[40] That the stuccoed constructions were replaced by stone is further authenticated by the exposure of rubble wall in the excavations at Semthan in period II.[41] Such specimens, though isolated at the moment, are of the utmost significance as they indicate the beginning of stone architecture in Kashmir which in course of time developed into a glorious architecture of Kashmir as is shown by the stone temple ruins of ancient Kashmir.

It may be mentioned that Mauryans made a remarkable contribution to Indian art and architecture. While Chandragupta Maurya patronized wooden architecture,[42] Asoka introduced stone masonry on a wide scale.[43] Fragments of stone pillars and stumps, indicating the existence of a 80-pillared hall, have been discovered at Kumrahar on the outskirts of modern Patna.[44]They certainly attest the high technical skill attained by the Mauryan artisans in polishing the stone pillars, which are as shining as Northern Black Polished ware. Each pillar is made of a single piece of buff coloured sandstone. Only their capitals, which are beautiful pieces of sculpture in the form of lions or bulls, are joined with the pillars on the top. The Mauryan artisans also started the practice of hewing out caves from rocks for

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40 *Rajatarangini*, Book. I, 103.

41 Ibid

42 *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1980-81, p. 21.

43 For details, see Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu periods)*, pp. 5-6.

44 Ibid,., p. 10.

Ibid

monks to live in as shown by Barabar caves (Gaya Bihar).[45] Given the advances made by the Mauryas in masonry work, it may be reasonable to conclude that the stone art began in Kashmir on account of the diffusion of the Mauryan culture. The solitary fragments of a lion capital still lying on the left bank of the Vitasta at present day Vejibror may not actually belong to an Asokan pillar, but it certainly belongs to the Asokan tradition.

Khorishti Script:

In unifying the country Asoka respected such scripts as Brahmi, Khorishti, Aramic and Greek. He also accommodated such languages as Greek, Prakrit and Sanskrit. The epigraphical records reveal that prior to the Mauryas Khorishti was the common script of Gandhara[46] and most probably of Kashmir too. It was so common that Asoka had to write some inscriptions in the north-west in this script. For example we find close to the border of Kashmir at Mansehra near Abbatabad and at Shahbazgarhi near Peshawar Asokan edicts written in Kharoshti,[47] showing that the Khorishti script continued to be the main script of the region during the Mauryas. Infact as is true of northwest India, the Khorishti was the main script of Kashmir till 5th century A.D. as is shown by the Harwan tiles. Khorishti script was evolved from Aramaic and like Aramaic was written from right to left. It was used for almost seven hundred years from 300 B.C. to the middle of the 5th century A.D. Gandhara was its place of birth but

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45 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

46 John Marshal and Dr. Vogel, "Excavations at Charsada, the Ancient Capital of Gandhara," ASI, New Delhi, 1902-03, pp. 141-184.

specimens of this script have been found over a vast territory extending from Gandhara in the west to Mathura and Patna in the east and Central Asia in the north to Mohenjodaro in the south. It was a fully developed phonetic script and was well adapted to the sounds of the *prakrits* then spoken in the Indus-land, now Pakistan. In its developed form Kharoshthi appears to have been first used by Asoka for his Rock Edicts for the propagation of Buddhism. The Greeks, Scythains and Parthians used this script to their best advantage as a medium of communication between the local people and their foreign overlords. Its use reached its maximum during Kushana rule in the 2nd-3rd century A.D[48]

Punch-marked coins

Although certain terms in later vedic literature are interpreted to suggest the use of coins, actual coins are not found in India before the age of the Buddha. These are made largely of silver though a few coppers also appear.[49] These coins bear the stamps of one to five punches. By reason that these were punched with certain marks, these coins are known amongst numismatists and historians as "punch-marked coins." The punching device of these coins bear no inscriptions. Instead, they have devices such as hills, trees, birds, animals, religious symbols and the like.[50] Each of the symbols is

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47 Ibid.
48 Taxila, op. cit., pp. 218-19
49 P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, pp. 8-18.
50 Ibid.

found confined to the coins of a particular area or on those of a particular variety or type.[51]

More than three hundred hoards of punch-marked coins are known. These were found in almost every part of the Mauryan empire. However, the coins of different states differ from one another in their execution, fabric, weight, quality of metal and symbology.[52]

In Kashmir the punch-marked silver coins and cast copper coins have been found with NBPW at Semthan.[53] Earlier to this two *punch marka* coins were discovered by G. B. Bleazby somewhere in Kashmir. [54] They are recorded in numismatic collection of S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar. Iqbal Ahmad also claims to have ~~to have~~ "come across several four and five symboled *punch marka* coins in private collections maintained in Srinagar city."[55] The *punch marka* coins found in Kashmir are mostly of Magadhain type. They bear four to five symbols stamped over the face of the coin, reverse being almost blank. Only in rare cases they bear some minute impressions. These coins, however, still await a study by an expert. It is intriguing that despite being closely related with Gandhara, no *beltbar* coin has so far been found in Kashmir.

As a matter of fact, coinage gained wide currency during the Mauryan occupation of Kashmir which together with the political integration of the valley with a big empire considerably promoted its internal as well as external trade. While the use of money currency

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51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1978-79, p. 70; 1980-81, p. 21.
54 G.B. Bleazy, *List of Coins and Medals in S.P.S. Museum*, Srinagar, 1910.

facilitated the exchange of goods, the political unification removed the political barriers in the way of the free flow of goods, providing a big market to the products of Kashmir. Increase in exports improved the economic conditions of Kashmir and the new imports like NBPW, copper and silver accounted for the cultural growth, introduction of new technology and a further fillip to investments on luxuries by upper classes. The latter phenomenon has always been accompanied by two contradictory developments– exploitation of the working classes and increase in production. To meet their enormous expenses entailed by luxurious living the ruling class resorted to rack-renting and also pressurized the peasantry to bring more and more land under cultivation. The same consequences might have also occurred in Kashmir following the introduction of new luxurious life style.

Beginning of Urbanism:

One significant contribution of the Mauryas to Kashmir is the Introduction of urban culture. Whether there was any city in Kashmir prior to the Mauryas, it is not known. What is however clearly known is that according to Kalhana Asoka built a great city and named it Srinagari. To quote him, " The illustrious King [Asoka] built the town of Srinagari, which was most important on account of its ninety-six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth."[56] Srinagari has been identified at the site of the present Village of Pandrethan (Kalhana's Puranadhisthana) including the area called Badami Bagh, presently

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55 Iqbal Ahmad, "Evolution of Coinage," in *New Hope*, Vol. No. 4, July-August, 2002, p. 30.

56 *Rajatarangini*, i, p. 104.

under the possession of army. Pandrethan is a corrupt form of *Puranadhisthana* meaning old capital, which the place came to be called when the capital was shifted to the site of present Srinagar (around Hari Parbat) by Parvarsena II towards the end of the sixth century A.D.[57] Although the new capital was named as Parvarpura, it, too, became popular by the name of Srinagari because being the capital of Kashmir for more than eight hundred years the name Srinagari had become synonymous for capital to the popular mind and imagination. Moreover, Parversena's city was practically contagious to the older Srinagari and existed for centuries side by side with it. We can hence easily understand why popular usage retained the old familiar designation for the new capital too. Exactly in the same way the several cities founded by successive kings in the vicinity of Delhi all continued to be known simply by the name of Delhi, though each of them was originally intended to bear the distinctive name of its founder.

Though the city founded by Asoka had sunk to small importance already in Hindu times, extensive remains of ancient buildings can still be traced on the terraced slopes rising immediately to the north and north-east of Pandrethan, presently under the army occupation.[58]

The foundation of the city by Asoka has to be understood in the backdrop of the NBPW culture to which the Mauryans belonged.

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57 Ibid., iii, 339-349. Also, see note 339-349.

58 For the archaeological importance of Pandrethan, see Daya Ram Sahni, "Pre-Mohammedan Monuments of Kashmir," in *Annal Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1915-16, pp. 41-61; R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p.33; Debala Mitra, *Pandrethan, Avantipur and Martand*, pp. 16-18.

Besides other things this culture is marked by the emergence of a large number of towns. That is why this phase of Indian civilization is called by historians the period of Second Urbanization in India.[59] Many important towns had already come into existence in the middle Gangetic basin and other parts of India. Mention may be made of Kausambi, Sravasti, Ayodhya, Kapilavastu, Varanasi, Vaishali, Rajgir, Patliputra, Champa, Mathura, Ujjain, Taxila etc.[60] It was this city culture which the Mauryans introduced in the Valley resulting into the foundation of first known city in Kashmir.

However, for the foundation of a city it was a pre-requisite to achieve a required economic growth. Unless the villages would grow surplus food to feed city population and provide raw material for its crafts and unless there was sufficient scope for internal and external trade which is a life blood for the survival of cities, it was neither possible to built a city like Srinagari nor could it be maintained. The Mauryan period, as we saw witnessed a remarkable economic development owing to intensive use of iron, popularity of wet rice cultivation, availability of a wide market to Kashmiri merchants following the political integration of Kashmir with a big empire and introduction of punch-marked coins. All these factors provided necessary ingredients for the emergence of a major city in Kashmir. It may be in place to mention here that the selection of site for Srinagari

59 To get an idea of the change which followed in the wake of early historical urbanization in India, cf. R.S. Sharma, Material Background of the Origin of Buddhism," *Das Kapital Centenary Volume – A Symposium* (eds. Mohit Sen and M.B.Rao), 1968, p. 61; also, see the same author's "Iron and Urbanization in the Ganga Basin," IHR. Vol. 1 (March, 1974), p. 101.

60 R.S. Sharma, op. cit., p. 106-107.

reflects Selucid tradition especially for its location on the river bank and the backing of hills.[61]

Imperial organization:

It is well known that in no other period of ancient history we hear of so many officers as in Maurya times. If we believe Kautilya, there were 27 superintendents (*adhyakshas)* only to regulate economic activities of the state.[62] The central government maintained about two-dozen departments. The administration of the capital city, Patliputra was carried on by six committees, each consisting of five members.[63] The elaborate system of administration organized by the Mauryas had a direct impact on the administrative system of the provinces under their control. Not surprisingly, therefore, we find Kalhana crediting Jaluka, the successor of Asoka, for having established eighteen officers (*karmasthana*) in Kashmir against the seven which existed until then. For the establishment of these offices the ruler brought experts from outside. In this regard it is worth to quote Kalhana verbatim:

> Having conquered the earth, including Kanyakubja and other [countries], he settled from that region people of four castes in his own land, and [particularly] righteous men acquainted with legal procedure. Upto that time there existed in this land, which had not yet reached its proper development in legal administration,

61 The selection of the site on the river bank with backing of hills for the construction of cities was a Seleucid tradition. See W.W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 136-37.

62 Kautliya, *Arthashatra*, Book I, Ch. 19; Somnath Dhar, *Kautilya and the Arthasastra*, pp. 34-35.

63 Ibid.

wealth and other [respects], a government like in most countries. There were [only] seven main state officials: the judge, the revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the Army, the envoy, the purohita, and the astrologer. By establishing eighteen offices (karamasthana) in accordance with traditional usage, the king created from that time onwards a condition of things as under Yudhisthira.[64]

This statement sheds light on some important developments which took place in Kashmir during the Mauryas. First, Kashmir achieved an unprecedented economic development which necessitated as well as made possible to establish an elaborate administrative organization. Second, during the period a large number of experts in statecraft were brought from outside and settled in Kashmir. And last but not least, Kashmir entered into an era of full-fledged political organization with a well-knit administrative system backed by a vast bureaucracy.

Religious Changes

Religious Milieu on the Eve of Mauryan Occupation

About the religious conditions of Kashmir before the Mauryas, we have no direct and concrete evidence except what one can gather from latter sources and indirectly from archaeological finds. As is true of other spheres of life, the religious history of early Kashmir is

64 *Rajatarangini*, i, 120.

marked by changes owing to the influx of new ideas in the wake of immigrations and cultural contacts. Having been a part of the geographical and cultural complex of the borderlands situated on its immediate north and west, the world-view of Kashmiris was always shaped by the religious developments occurring in these lands. It is, therefore, understandable to see almost identical sequence of religious changes between Kashmir and its neighbourhood. In the neighbouring territories of Kashmir we find Naga cult, perhaps the earliest and the most popular belief.[65] The evidence of Saiva rites and symbols is not later than Harappan culture.[66] The worship of Visnu was popular in Gandhara as early as the 5th century B.C.[66a] The Aryans introduced Vedic religion around 1500 B.C. The Persian occupation of Gandhara led to the spread of Zoroastrianism in the region.[67] In Kashmir, too, we find almost the same religious scenario.

According to the *Nilamatapurana*, written in seventh-eighth century A.D., Naga cult was the most primitive cult of Kashmir.[68] There seems no doubt in this statement as we find the deeply embedded impact of this cult upon the subsequent faiths so much so that even in the beginning of the 17th century Abul Fazl found 700 places in the Valley where the people worshipped carved images of

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65 *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. V, 1970-71, pp. 65-68; *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 2, 1965, p. 57; H.D. Sankalia, Prehistoric Colonization in India: Archaeological and literary Evidence, in *Puratattva*, No. 8, 1975-76, p. 196.

66 For details, see Jagat Pati Joshi, "Religious and Burial Practices of Harappans: Indian Evidence," in G.C. pande, *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, Vol. I, part I, *The Dawn of Indian Civilization upto 600 B.C.* pp. 385-388.

66a B.K. Koul Deambi, *History and Culture of Ancient Himalayas*, p. 94.

67 Strabo, XV. 1, 62.

68 Cf. *Nilamatapurana*

snakes.[69] As against this he found only 45 places dedicated to the worship of Siva, 64 to Visnu, 3 to Brahma and 22 to Durga.[70] Moreover, the Buddhist tradition does not refer to any other people in Kashmir other than the Nagas with whom the Buddhist missionaries had to confront with.[71]

However, at the same time we should not forget that Siva has remained a popular deity of Kashmir despite the coming of Aryans. If Kalhana is to be believed, there was a shrine of Siva Vijayesa in pre-Asokan times.[72] Asoka, too, according to the chronicle, built two Siva temples in the Valley.[73] There is also clear evidence of the coming of Aryans as is shown by the presence of grey ware in pre-NBP Semthan (700-500 B.C.).[74] The reverence for water and fire in the belief system of Kashmir speaks of the impact of Zoroastrianism on Kashmir.

To be sure, on the eve of the Mauryan occupation of Kashmir a syncretic belief system based on the elements of Naga cult, Saivism, Vedic religion and Zoroastrianism ruled the world-view of Kashmiris. This is also substantiated by the *Nilamatapurana* saying that the earliest inhabitants were Nagas, followed by Pisacas and human beings (Aryans).[75] Nagas were those whose symbol was serpent which was primarily a water deity; Pisacas were primitive Saivites;

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69 *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. Jarrett, Vol. III, p.358.
70 Ibid.
71 For details, see S.C.Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 156.
72 *Rajatarangini*, i, 105.
73 Ibid.,, 106.
74 G.S. Gaur, "Semthan Excavations," in B.M. Pande *et al* (eds.), *Archaeology and History* (Gosh Memorial), pp. 327-28.
75 *Nilamatapurana*, tr. Ved Gahai, pp. 4sqq.

and human beings were Vedic people.[76] What is important *Nilamatapurana* portrays a picture of friendly relationship between Nagas and Aryans.[77] And though initially there was a tough fight between the Pisacas and Aryans, the lattar had ultimately to enter into a compromise with the Pisacas.[78] Not surprisingly, therefore, the Hinduism of Kashmir is a hybrid religion – a mixture of Naga cult, Tantric rites and Vedic religion. Perhaps on the eve of the Mauryan occupation of Kashmir, Naga cult still wielded a predominant influence. This is the reason that the Buddhist tradition mentions only Nagas whom the Buddhist missionaries had to contest in Kashmir.[79]

Introduction of Buddhism

The origin of Buddhism in Kashmir is veiled in ~~obscure~~ obscurity Most of the Buddhist sources, however, are unanimous in attributing the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir to Majjhantika, a monk of Varanasi and a disciple of Ananda.[80] According to Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahavamsa*, Moggliputta Tissa, the spiritual guide of King Asoka after the conclusion of the Third Buddhist Council sent missionaries to different countries to propagate Buddhism. A Buddhist savant Majjhantika was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara.[81] The story of the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir by Majjhantika is told in several other Buddhist texts like the Tibetan

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76 This is what seems a plausible inference.

77 *Nilamatapurana*, pp. 4sqq.

78 Ibid.

79 S.C. Ray, op. cit., p. 156.

80 *Mahavamsa*, XII, 3; Dul-va (A.S.B. Xylograph), XI, 684-690. Quoted by S.C. Ray, op. cit., p. 158.

81 *Mahavamsa*, XII, 834-36.

Dul-va, *Asokavadana*, *Avadanakalpalata*[82] and the travel accounts left by Hiuen Tsang.[83]

While majority of the Buddhist sources say that Buddhism spread in Kashmir during the reign of Asoka, some trace its history to much earlier times. Thus we are told that Kashmiri Buddhists participated in the Third Buddhist Council. According to the Buddhist text *Divyavadana*, several monks of Tamasavana in Kashmir were invited by Asoka to attend the Third Buddhist Council at Patliputra.[84] Again Kalhana describes the establishment of several Viharas in Kashmir during the reign of King Surendra, the predecessor of Asoka.[85] If the tradition preserved in the *Divyavadana* and the *Rajatarangini* be true it would appear that the Buddhist faith had already been introduced in Kashmir before the time of Majjhantika and Asoka. Be that as it may, Buddhism must have gained a firm footing in Kashmir only under the spiritual leadership of Majjhantika and the benign patronage of Asoka during the third century B.C.

Besides making his newly founded city–Srinagari– as the centre of Buddhism which it continued to enjoy for centuries together as is revealed by Archaeological evidence,[86] Asoka built *sangramas*, *viharas*, *caityas* and *stupas* in different parts of the Valley. For instance, Kashmiri tradition, as preserved by Kalhana, credits Asoka for having built numerous stupas at Hukhalitar and Vithavutur:

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82 Dul-Va, op.cit., pp. 690; *Asokavadana*, Introduction, p. 2; Ksemendra, *Avadanakalpalata*, palla, 70

83 Watters, on Yuan Chwang, 1. p. 261-262.

84 *Divyavadana*, edited by B.C. Cowel, Cambridge, 1886, p. 399.

85 *Rajatarangini*, i, 102-103.

86 See Daya Ram Sahni, op. cit., pp. 41-61; R.C. Kak, op. cit., p. 33; Debala Mitra, op. cit., pp. 16-18.

> This king who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina, covered Suskaletra and Vitastatra with numerous stupas. At the town of Vitastatra there stood within the precincts of the Dharmaranya vihara a Caitya built by him, the height of which could not be measured by the eye.[87]

Five centuries before Kalhana, Hiuen Tsang also recorded his personal testimony to the existence of four stupas in the Valley, one of which was as high as 50 feets.[88] Asoka not only built monestries and stupas, but according to the Tibetan accounts, he devoted the Kashmir kingdom to the *sangha* itself.[89]

It may be mentioned that there are many villages in Kashmir known by the name of *sangrama*, obviously for having emerged around the Buddhist monastries. We also find many identical names in Kashmir and the plains. For example, Muqam, Poshkar, Wagad etc. In Kashmir all these paces are situated on the hillocks and were the abodes of Muslim Rishis who inherited the deeply embedded local traditions.Understandably, these places were centres of meditation of the Buddhist monks and for reasons of their identical importance with such centres elsewhere in India, they came to be called by these names by the immigrant Buddhist missionaries. The special importance of these places as suitable spots for meditation continued despite religious changes.

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87 *Rajatarangini*, i, 102-103.

88 *Si- Yu- ki*, tr. Beal, I, p. 150.

89 *Dul-va*, op. cit.

THE GREEKS IN KASHMIR AND THE HELLENISTIC INFLUENCES

In the preceding Chapters we observed *inter alia* that all along its history Kashmir was considerably influenced by the developments taking place on its western borders particularly the area commonly known in the ancient literature as Gandhara. History again repeated when around 200 B.C. Bactrian-Greeks crossed the Hindukush and occupied the Peshawar region and Taxila in the Punjab. Before we see what exactly happened and how was Kashmir influenced by these developments, it seems pertinent to make a mention of the identity of these Bactrian-Greeks.

After the death of Alexander, the far-flung territories that he had conquered were divided among the powerful generals of his army. Accordingly, a Greek kingdom was established in Syria under Seleucus which extended from the Euphrates to the Oxus and the Indus. Following in the footsteps of Alexander, Seleucids established *satrapies* in the conquered territories and appointed *satraps* who ruled the respective areas on behalf of the central authority. These were essentially military colonies comprising Greek soldiery headed by erstwhile Alexander's generals. One of these *satrapies* was established at Bactria, which lay in the region between the Hindukush and the Oxus. In course of time the Greek rulers of Bactria, like other

military colonies, developed their own hierarchical system which with the passage of time led to the assertion of their independence. This started happening right in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. In 250 B.C. Diodotus backed by his people revolted against Antiochus, the Seleucid king and finally Euthydemos succeeded in carving out an independent kingdom around 240 B.C. The assumption of power by Euthydemos coincides with the death of Asoka and the gradual process of decline of Mauryan authority in the north-west.[1] The Greco-Bactrians gradually expanded southwards, occupying the Kabul Valley, the Peshawar region and Taxila in the Punjab.

Two factors accounted for the Indo-Greek conquest of north-west of India: Saka pressure and the weakness of the Mauryas. The Greek rulers faced a serious threat from the Scythian (Saka) tribes who, after the construction of Chinese wall were unable to move towards China and thus attacked the Greeks and Parthians. Pushed by the Scythian tribes the Bactrian-Greeks were forced to move towards India. Their invasions began by the end of the Mauryan rule; and they succeeded in their designs because the successors of Asoka were not strong enough to push them back.

After Euthydomos, his son Demetrius became the king of Bactria. He ruled between 200 B.C. and 185 B.C. He is remembered for having created a great empire comprising southern Afghanistan, Eastern Iran, Seistan upto Indus, Jehlum and Kashmir.[2] Demetrius was succeeded by a chain of Indo-Greek rulers. Mention may be

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1 For details about Indo-Greeks and their occupation of the north-west of India see, W.W. Taran, *The Greeks in Bacteria and India*; A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*.

2 Taran, op. cit.,; p. 155.

made of Eucratides, Menander, Antimachus II, Philoxenus, Appolodotus, Nicias, Hippostriatus and Calliope also known in history by the name of Hermaeus. They ruled between 200 B.C. and 55 B.C. They occupied a large part of north-western India besides undertaking occasional expeditions to the Ganga basin and other parts of India.

Evidence on Kashmir under the Indo-Greeks:

The fact that Kashmir remained a part of the Indo-Greek empire is supported by a varied type of evidence: It is born out not only by archaeological, numismatic, literary and anthropological evidence but place-names too support it. Period III at Semthan has revealed a deposit of 40 cms consisting of several floor levels. The important finds obtained from this period, which prove beyond doubt Indo-Greek settlements in Kashmir are: coins of Indo-Bactrian rulers, a distinguishing pottery, a clay seal depicting an Indo-Greek deity, a pot sherd with an inscription in Greek which reads as "Dhamorai" or Dharmo (rajai), terracotta finds and human heads with serene facial expression.[3]

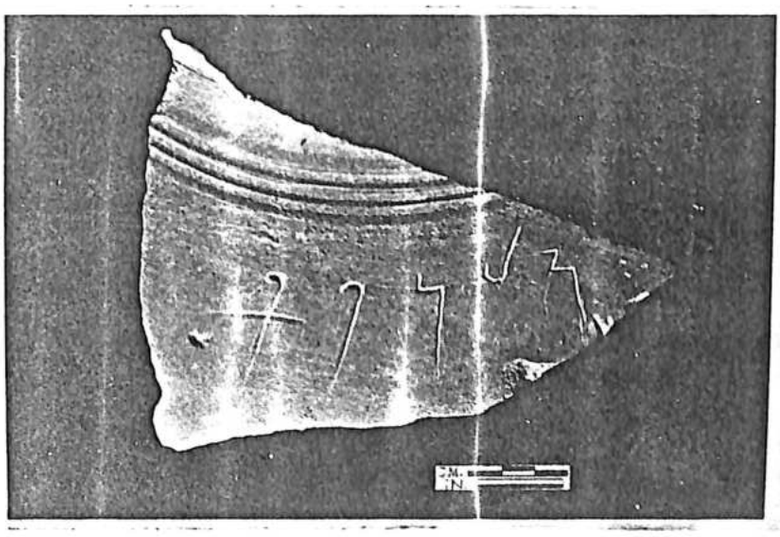


Fig 5.1 Inscription on a pot sherd from Semthan, district Anantnag. (*Courtesy S.L. Shali*)

[3] *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1980-81.

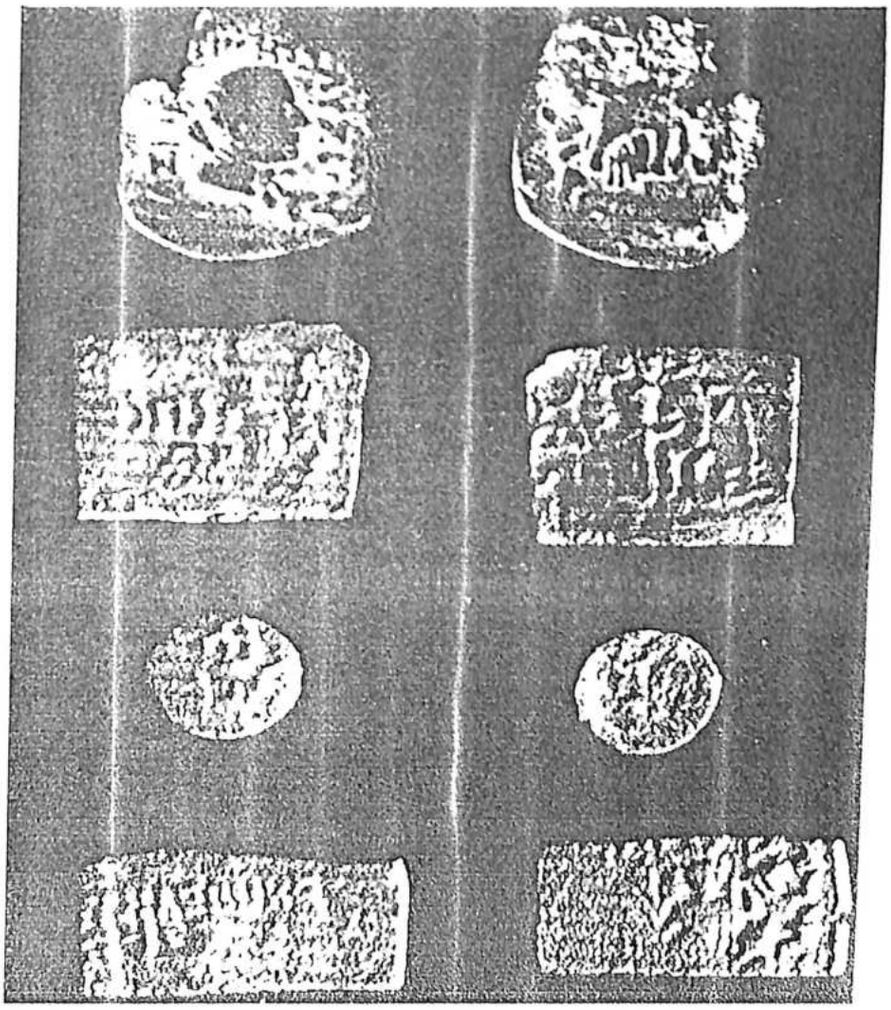
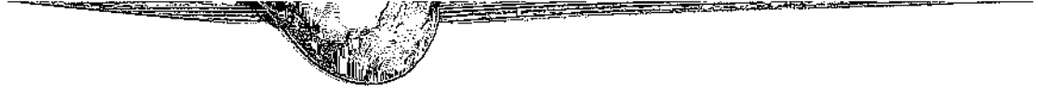


Fig 5.2 Semthan : Coins,
Courtesy Indian Archaeology 1980-81



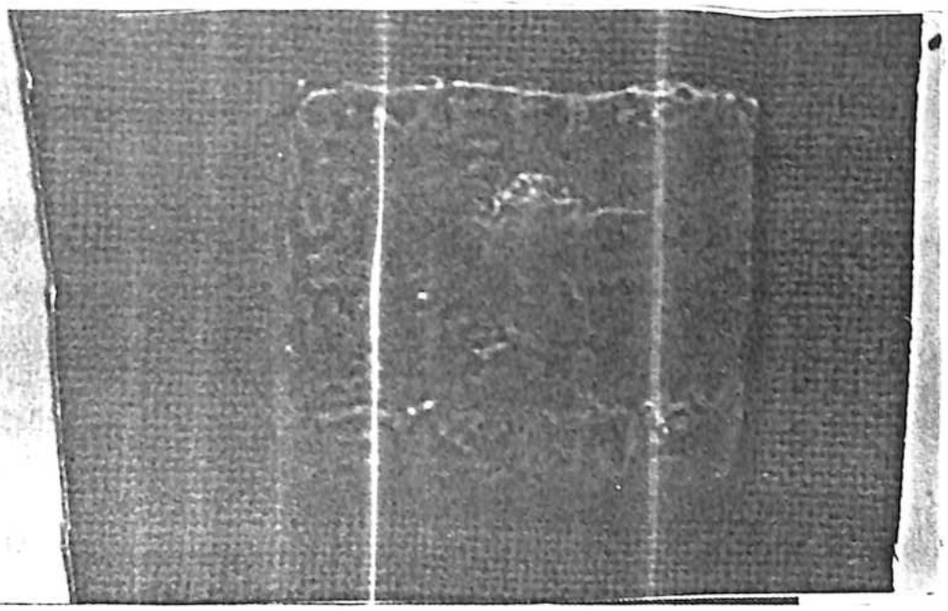


Fig. 5.3. Indo-Greek Coin, *SPS Museum*, Srinagar.

Fig. 5.4

Damaged terracotta head of a deity? Semthan, district Anantnag (Curtesy R.C.Agrawal)

Even prior to the excavations Semthan had yielded from the surface the coins of Indo-Bactrian rulers.[4] The coins which have been found at Semthan and other places of Kashmir belong to Euthydioms, Demetrius, Eucratides, Menander, Antimachus II, Appolodotus, Hippostriat, Lysias, and Harmaeus. It can argued that the coins might have been brought thither by merchants and ultimately buried or lost. But, as we have seen, there is besides coins, a variety of material evidence of Greek presence in Kashmir which was found in association with the coins of the Indo-Greek rulers.

Coming to the literary evidence, we have a passing reference in Rajatarangini that Kashmir was subjected to Indo-Greek (*mleccha*) invasion during the reign of Asoka's successor, Jaluka who, according to Kalhana "expelled the *mlecchas* who oppressed the land, and conquered in victorious expeditions the earth upto the encircling oceans."[5] Whether Jaluka really expelled the Indo-Greeks or whether Kalhana tries to exalt the position of the ruler by portraying him as a great conqueror is a moot point. However the fact still remains that no sooner did the Indo-Greeks occupy the North- West Frontier than Kashmir became the target of their covetous eyes and they not only invaded Kashmir but also occupied it, though temporarily if we believe Kalhana.

According to *Rajatarangini* Jaluka was succeeded by Damodara II.[6] Who was this Damodara II? Kalhana frankly admits his ignorance about his background.[7] Damodara of Kalhana is

4 R.C. Kak, *Handbook of S.P.S. Museum*, pp. 58, 125-130.
5 *Rajatarangini*, i, 115.
6 Ibid., i, 153.
7 Ibid.

perhaps the famous Indo-Greek ruler, Demetrius (200-185 B.C) who, under the sweeping impact of Sanskrit language and culture from second century A.D onwards,[8] became Damodara in folk tradition –the only source of Kalhana for recording the early history of Kashmir.[9] According to Taran the kingdom of Demetrius included Afghanistan, Baluchistan, most of Russian Turkistan with some extension into Chinese Turkistan, Part of North-West Frontier of India, the Punjab, much of the United Provinces with a small slice of Bihar, Sindh, Cutch, Kathiawar and the northern part of Gujrat.[10] Thus a ruler, who had embarked upon such a policy of an ambitious scheme of conquests, could not be expected to have left Kashmir alone when its borders were contagious with North- West Frontier and when the Valley had always been closely related to it. Taran also says that Kashmir formed a part of the empire of Demetrius.[11]

Kalhana credits Demetrius [Sanskritized Damodara] of having constructed a long dam called Guddasetu "to bring water into the town which he had himself built on the Damodara – Suda [Damodara Wadar].[12]" He is also said to have constructed dykes made of stones

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8 Atleast from the period of the Kushans, Sanskrit became the language of mass religion as well as the official language of Kashmir. The Tibetan and Chinese writers refer to many Sanskrit Buddhist literary compositions written in the Kushana period. (S.C. Ray, op. cit., p. 185. note, 1). The Sanskrit continued to enjoy the position of official language and the language of dominant religion upto 14 th Century A.D.

9 Sohoni also suggested that King Damodara in the *Rajatarangini* might be Demetrius. S.V. Sohini, The Chavillakara Fragments in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini,Journal of the Bihar research Society* (JBRS), 1950, pp. 71ff.

10 Vide, Narain, op.cit., p. 44.

11 Taran op.cit., p. 155.

12 Ibid.
Rajatarangini, 157.

in order to guard against inundations.[13] It may be mentioned that the Greeks followed faithfully the Achaemenid policy of paying great attention to the maintenance and development of irrigation, a thing cultivated by Zoroastrian religion.[14] Bactria, it should be remembered, was the traditional home of Zoroastrianism.[15] It is, therefore, no wonder to see Demetrius paying first hand attention to constructing dams and canals in Kashmir and thus proving true to his rich heritage.

Another Greek ruler about whom we have literary evidence that he ruled Kashmir is the famous King Menander (155-130). To quote Taran, "A third fragment in Ptolemy gives the names of two provinces in Menander's home kingdom east of the Jhelum: Kaspeiria, which Ptolemy calls the upper Valleys of the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, and which would thus have corresponded to southern Kashmir."[16] Also, according to *Milinda-panha*, Menender (called as Milanda in the text) held discussions with Buddhist philosopher, Nagasana somewhere in Kashmir.[17] Perhaps the potsherd containing the inscription 'Dhamorai' or 'Dharmo (rajai)'discovered from Semthan refers to King Menander. Menender's legendary fame in Kashmir is attested by the fact that the Kashmiri poet, Ksemendra in the eleventh century has a story about him which is a transfer to him of a story first told about the great Kanishka two centuries after his death.[18]

13
14 Ibid., 159
15 Taran, op.cit., pp. 102-3.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., p. 238.
18 *Milindapanha*, ed. by V. Trenckner, pp. 82-83.
Cf. Taran, p. 267.

The non-conventional sources such as place-names, physiognomy and philology not only substantiate the archaeological and literary evidence that Kashmir was a part of the Indo-Greek empire but they provide a clinching evidence in this regard and leave no room for contrary argument. Of these sources place-names provide extremely rich evidence. All those places of Kashmir which bear the names ending in –hom, (for example, Sirhom, Monghom, Balahom, Chattarhom, Dirhom, Burzahom, Bihom, Kanihom etc), were once Greek military colonies. *Hom* is Greek '*ium*'. As elsewhere, '*ium*' was either associated with the official who founded it or with some historical event or with some virtues or vices of the place.[19] Referring to a specific category of the Greek settlements in Asia Taran says, "...any place bearing a non-dynastic man's name, like Docimium, Zenodotium, Menidemium, Themisonium, was once a military colony which had named itself after the official who founded it."[20]

There are also many place-names in Kashmir which are essentially Greek names. For example, Kalaros (Gk. Cleros),[21] Methan (Gk. Meitona or Methone)[22] Odus (Gk.. Edessa)[23], Anch (Gk. Antioch),[24] Sotur (Gk. Sotoer or Soteira),[25] Athan (Gk. Athena),[26]

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19 Ibid., p. 11

20 Ibid.

21 An allotment of land which carried with it the obligation to serve in the army was known as *cleros* in the Hellenistic period. See Taran, op.cit., p. 7.

22 Maitona or Methone is Greek and Macedonian place-name. Taran, op. cit., p. 11

23 Edessa is a Roman name. It was the name of some famous Greek towns. Taran, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

24 Antioch is a Greek name.

25 In Greek *soter* means 'the saviour'. It was a covetous title by which Appolodotus and Menender called themselves (Taran, op cit., p. 175). We also come across a Greek city by the name of Soteire in eastern Iran. P. 13.

26 Athena was a Greek goddess.

Zeus (Gk. Zeus),[27] Charus (Gk. Charis),[28] Ach (Gk. Achea)[29], Medur (Gk. Modura)[30] Aplun [Gk. Apallo],[31] Hamar, Hamari [Gk. Homer],[32] Pa'rgaum [Gk. Pergamum][33] Memandar (Menendar)[34], Romoh (Gk. Roma, Riom),[35] Solun (Selena),[36] La'spur (after Lysias),[37] Āmon (Ammon)[38] Nicas (GK. Nicias, the Greek ruler) etc. Besides there are some place names which are essentially nick-names, given by the pre-Greek inhabitants of Kashmir to newly founded Greek settlements. Of such settlements mention may be made of Awanpur, a corrupt form of *yavanapura* i.e. the settlement of Greeks,[39] Poonzu, actually *pa'nz* meaning monkeys and Panzgum, meaning village of monkeys. Even after the elapse of two thousand years since Greeks ruled Kashmir and despite an un-ending influx of varied ethnic groups into the Valley and the consequent, rampant inter-ethnic marriages,the physiognomy of the people of these places present a marked affinity with Greek physiognomy.[40] It may be noted that it was common

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28 Zeus was a Hellenistic deity.

29 Charis was one of the famous Greek cities in eastern Iran. Taran, op. cit., p. 13.

30 Achea was a Greek city in Iran . Ibid., p. 13.

31 Modoura was a greek goddess or nymph. Ibid ., p. 252.

32 Apallo was a Greek god.

33 Homer was the Greek poet and epic writer of ancient Greece.

34 Pergamum was the Greek place-name. Taran, op. cit., p. 179.

35 The Village Memender, situated near Shopian, is a corrupt form of Menender, the famous Greek King.

36 Roma was the Greek goddess.

37 Selena was the Greek goddess.

38 Lysias was the Greek ruler whose coins have been found in Kashmir. There are many villages named after the the ruler. They are Lias in Shopian, Lasipur in Pulwama and Lasipur in Lolab.

39 Ammon was the Greek place-name. Taran, p. 268. in Kashmir there is also a village called Amoon. It is situated in Kulgam Tehsil.

40 There are many villages named as Awanpora. I know at least three villages of this name. They are situated in Tral, Budgam and Lolab Tehsils.

Based on my field study of villages like Panzgaum.

among the Greeks to transfer the population from old Greek towns to new foundations.[41]

Impact

A culture with which Kashmir had direct contacts for about one and a half centuries and, more so, which formed the *reference culture*, being the culture of the ruling class, it is quite natural to see it having left its deep impact on the life and conditions of the people. Besides the fact that Kashmir was ruled by the Greek rulers, who established a large number of Greek colonies in Kashmir and settled their own people in different corners of the Valley, we should also remember that the capital of Indo-Greeks was situated on the boarders of Kashmir – first at Taxila and then more close at Sailkot (Sagala).[42] Thus Kashmir was environed by a powerful Greek culture right- and-left. It is unfortunate that for want of adequate information it is not possible to give a comprehensive treatment of Greek influences in Kashmir. What we shall be trying in the following pages is to piece together some stray reference scattered here and there in varied types of sources. This would at least give us an idea of the contribution of Greek culture to the growth of Kashmir culture.

Growth of Trade:

The first and the foremost development that we notice during the period is a tremendous growth in the external trade of Kashmir. This is evidenced by the discovery of a large number of coins which belong to almost all the Indo-Greek rulers who ruled the north –west India. This growth in trade was the result of some new phenomena

41 Taran, op.cit., p. 137.

42 Taran, op. cit., p. 49.

that followed the Indo-Greek occupation of Kashmir: one is that the Indo-Greek rulers connected Kashmir with Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and perhaps with China too. This is in addition to the maintence of close relations with the Indian sub-continent. Second, the Indo-Greeks were accustomed to a particular life style which exercised as additional demand for imports. Thirdly, the introduction of currency in a large scale obviated the problems that otherwise came in the way of external trade. Money currency, as we saw, was no doubt introduced in Kashmir by the Mauryas but the fact remains that it became wide spread only during the Indo-Greeks. The fact that it was for the first time during the Indo-Greek rulers that the Kashmiri people became aware of the money currency at a mass scale is substantiated by the evidence that now onwards the term *dīnār*, (after Greek dinarius) was used for money currency in Kashmir in place of *hār* (cowry).[43] The term *dīnār* changed into *dyar* in Kashmir which upto the present is used for money currency in the Valley.

Coinage:

As is true of the other parts of the Indian sub-continent, the credit for the introduction of proper coinage in Kashmir goes to the Greeks. They were the first to introduce the coins which can be definitely attributed to the kings. The custom of putting portraits of the rulers, their names and epithets, bilingual inscriptions, figures of deities etc., all owe to them.[44] The Greek coins greatly influenced the coins of many succeeding dynasties, namely, Scythians, Parthians and

43 For the frequent references of 'Dinnara" by Kalhana, see *Rajatarangini*, iii. 103; iv, 495, 617, 898; v. 71, 84 sq; 87, 89, 108, 116; vi, 38; vii, 163, 406 sq; 500, 950, 1118, 1220; viii, 124, 151sq, 883, 3335.

44 Gupta, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

Kushans who always retained on their coins Greek titles and Greek script of varying qualities

The indo-Greek rulers adhered to the monetary system of Athens which had already been adopted by Alexander and his immediate successors in Syria. The silver coins are didrachms and hemidrachms. With some exception they are all round and struck to Persian standard. Copper coins, square for the most part, are very numerous and are believed to have been on the standard of the local copper coins of Taxila.[45]

The rulers issued coins by die-striking technique, which was earlier unknown in India and followed the Greek pattern.[46] They placed portraits of the rulers on the obverse. The diademed or helmeted head or bust is usual. Demetrius is shown on some of the types of his coins wearing an elephant scalp. The portraits on these coins are realistic and boldly drawn.[47]

As already mentioned besides the portraits of the kings, the Indo-Greek rulers introduced the effigy of the Greek gods and goddesses- Zeus, Artemis, Heracles, Poseidon, Appolo, Dioskouroi, Nike and Pallas or some of the symbols of their worship. Amongst the symbols, 'two piloi' the cap of Dioskouroi and the tripod of Apollo occur frequently.[48]

45

46 Ibid., pp. 20-21.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

Ibid.

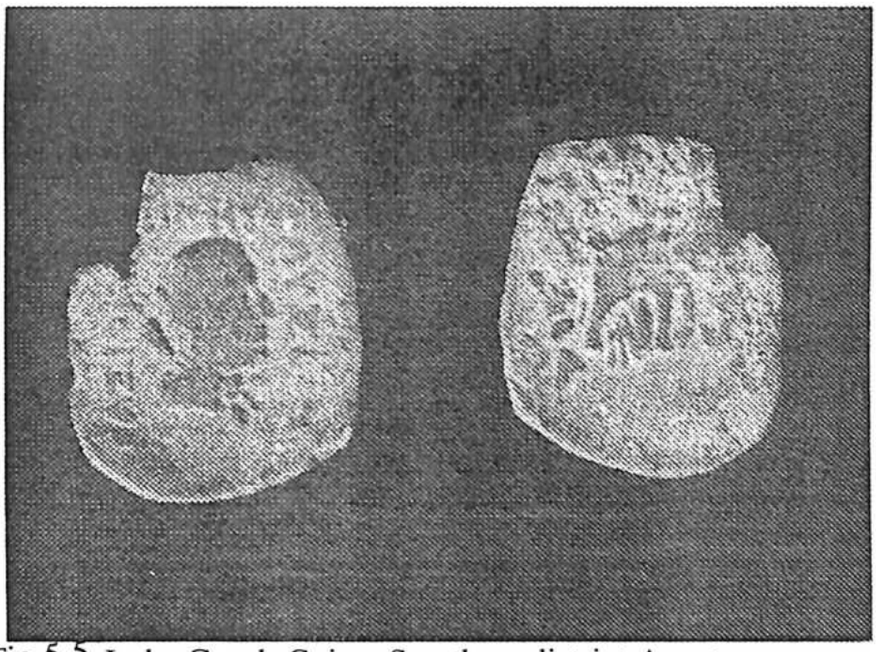

Fig 5.5 Indo-Greek Coins, Semthan, district Anantnag
(Curtesy R.C. Agrawal)

Fig 5.6 Silver Coins of Menander Ist Century B.C.
SPS Museum Srinagar.

Inscription is another feature on these coins, a feature which was quite new to India as such. While some coins, perhaps issued in Bactria are unilingual, bearing an inscription in Greek only, the coins issued in India are exclusively bilingual. On them the Greek inscription is placed on the obverse side and its translation in Prakrit written in Kharoshti script on the reverse.[49]

Town planning:

Though the spade has yet to unearth a Greek town in Kashmir, nevertheless the impact of the Greek town planning is evident from the structure of temple complexes whose layout was designed in keeping with the three important features of Greek city – stone wall, imposing main gate and the main building at the centre.[50] It may be mentioned that the extensive use of stone masonry in the city walls, bringing acropolis within the city proper, projected main gate of the western origin, outwordly protruding round or square towers– all go to the credit of the Greeks.[51] Although no remains of the cities of the period have been unearthed yet, we know at least the location of the sites chosen by the rulers of the period which helps us in gauging the impact of the Greek town planning. For example like the Greeks we find almost all the subsequent rulers of Kashmir making use of

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49

50 Ibid.
That these were the main features of Greek city, see Saifur-Rehman Dar, op. cit., p. 32. And that temple complexes of Kashmir had these three distinctive features, see Robert E. Fisher, "Stone Temples," in Pratapaditya Pal (ed.), *Art and Architecture of Ancient Kashmir*, pp. 33-35.

51 Dar, op. cit., p. 32.

natural factors such as the backing of the hills, gullies, ravines, rivers, etc. for strengthening the defence of the cities.[52]

Art and Architecture:

As we know a new art emerged in Gandhara on account of the convergence of Greek and Buddhist art. This Greeco-Buddhist art is called Gandhara art. Although as yet no specimen of the art and architecture of the period has been discovered in Kashmir, the latter sculpture and architecture, show that the Greek art forms had a profound impact on the art and architecture of Kashmir.[53] Many architectural features of Kashmiri temples, namely, columns of Doric order, pediments and trefoil archs were borrowed from Greek architecture.[54] The S-shaped and other types of brackets were used in the Hellenistic world as early as second century B.C.[55] Other motifs of unmistakable Greek origin are Caryatids, pedimental arches, carved door jambs, figures seated or standing under arches, birds perching on either sides of arches and host of other decorative motifs such as meanders, vine-scrolls, laurel leaves, garland-bearers, atlantes, tritons etc.[56] We find in Texila the art of stone dressing, stone-cutting, stone carving and stone-polishing achieving a

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52 All the cities of Kashmir- Shrinagri, Parvarpur, Kaniskapura, Parhispura, Avantipura etc – were built keeping in view the presence of these natural factors which helped in strengthening their defence, besides adding to their charm.

53 For details, see *Art and Architecture of Ancient Kashmir*, op. cit.

54 It is interesting that the specimens of Doric art have survived in Kashmir only. Dar, op. cit., p. 34 and note. For the impact of Greek architecture on Kashmir architecture, also see Alexander Cunningham, " Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture," in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vii, 1848, pp. 241-327.

55 Th. Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture*, Cambridge, 1934, pp. 8, 148, 151, 152.

56 *Taxila II*, pp. 699-728– Vide Dar, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

tremendous progress under the Bactrian Greeks.[57] The same could be true in Kashmir as well.

Greek art taught freedom to the artists of the East in that in the Greek art figures are shown in every attitude, face-view, side-view, even back-view ,and in every kind of intermediate posture.[58] Frontality, which became a normal treatment of the figure during the Parthians, was an exceptional treatmant in Greek art restored to only for definite reasons.[59] That the Greek art left a profound impact on the art of Kashmir is clearly evidenced by the motifs stamped on the Harwan tiles where the figures are shown in varied attitudes.

Also, like the so called toilet trays found in Gandhara,[60] we find in Kashmir trays, though made of clay, which like the Gandharan trays have scenes depicted within a circular space.[61] The 'trays' so far discovered in Kashmir depict the religious themes – *mithuna*. It may be mentioned that during the 3rd-1st century B.C relief decorations in circular space started appearing on ceramics of the type of Megarian bowls in Greece and Calenian Phiale in Italy.[62] To be sure, the decorations of the religious themes and other decorative motifs within circular space were common both in classical and Hellenistic periods.

Pottery:

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57 Dar, op. cit., p. 36.

58 Daniel Schlumberger, "Parthian Art" in Ehsan Yarshater, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (2). P. 1051)

59 Ibid.

60 For Gandharan toilet trays see, Dar, op. cit., pp. 99-143.

61 See, V. N. Drabu, *Saivagmas*, plates. 19 and 20.

62 H. B. Walter, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, London, 1896, pp. 224-225, 256-61. Vide Dar op. cit., p. 103.

Fig. 5.7

a) Kinnaras, Souvra (Kashmir) b) Dancing couple, Souvra (Kashmir, State Department of Archaeolgy, Srinagar.
Courtesy Vishva Nath Drabu

c) Actaeon looking Artemis taking bath from Akra.
Courtesy Dr. S.Rahman Dar.

d) Funeral Banquet, From Taxila.
Courtesy Dr. S.Rahman Dar.

Fig. 5.8 Toilet trays

The pottery of the Indo-Greek period, as found at Semthan, is distinguished by a thin fabric with bright red, orange or light slip.[63] The striking shapes are *thalis* (pans), vases with out-turned and internally thickned rims, vessels with high necks and also goblets.[64] Intriguingly the Greek 'black ware' is missing. Terracotta finds are very rich in distribution and carry a wide variety of shapes.

Religion:

Except one ruler – the famous Menander – the Greek rulers continued to profess their ancestral heathenic pantheistic religion. This is evident from their coinage which carries the portraits of Greek gods and goddesses or some of the symbols of their worship. Also, a clay seal has been discovered from Semthan which depicts an Indo-Greek deity. It is presumed to be of Apollo.[65] Understandably the heathenic pantheistic religion of the Greeks would have further promoted polytheism and added more gods and goddesses to the heathenic pantheons that prevailed in Kashmir. Worshiping of images was so widespread among the Greeks that some scholars believe that idolatory was introduced into India by the Greeks.[66] According to *Milinda-panho* Menender was converted to Buddhism by the Buddhist philosopher, Nagasena after a catechismal discussion on Buddhism between the two.[67] The questiones posed by Menander are

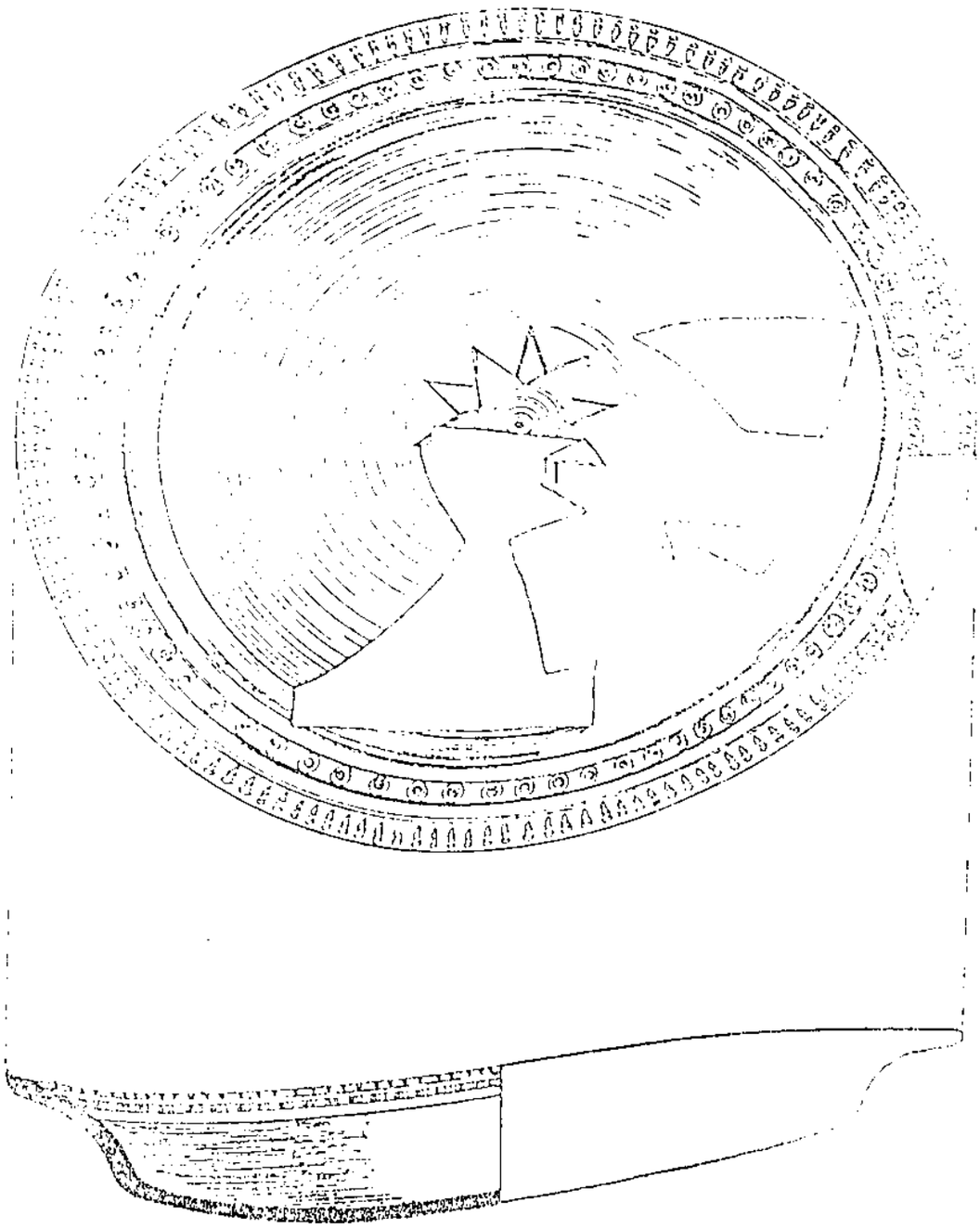
63

64 *Indian Archaeology–A Review*, 1980-81.

65 Ibid.

66 Shali, op. cit., p. 120.
We may recall that the cult of images and icons was promoted by Artaxerxes II (404-359) who, according to Berossus, the Babylonian priestly scholar writing early 3rd century B.C, was the first to introduce the image-cult of "Aphrodite Anaitis" in the chief cities of the empire. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1). Intr. p. XXV.

67 *Milindapanha*, op. cit., pp. 82-83.



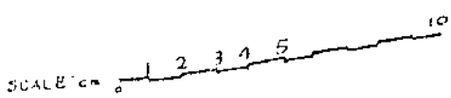


Fig. 5.9 Earthen *thali*, Semthan
(Courtesy R.C. Agrawal)

contained in *Milinda-panho*, which means 'Questions of King Milinda' (King Menendar).

It may, however, be wrong to suppose that only two religious beliefs– Hellenistic religion or Buddhism– prevailed in Kashmir during the Indo-Greek rule. By contrast, people of many faiths lived in Kashmir side by side. In this respect, as is true of other matters as well, Kashmir was a part of the cultural complex of Gandhara where besides Buddhism and the Greek religion we find Siva powerful in Pushkalavati[68] (Greek capital) and Vishnu strong in Taxila.[69] Having their centre at Bactra (Bactria) which was the traditional centre of Zoroastrianism,[70] it is perhaps reasonable to presume that the Indo-Greeks might have greatly been influenced by this religion too. They were also influenced by sun worship which we find prevailing in Taxila.[71] A poem written not latter than the first century B.C and addressed to Apollo is an early expression of the later belief that all deities merge in the sun.[72]

It may be mentioned that Greeks were already influenced by Anatolian and Syrian religious beliefs. For example we find one Greek making a dedication to Cappadocian goddess Ma.[73] And there is a Greek epigram addressed to Appollo by the Syrian title Mara,[74] 'Lord'. *Ma* as well as *Mara* are commonplace idioms in Kashmir. *Ma*

68
69 Dar, op. cit., p. 135.
70 Ibid., p. 135.
71 Taran, op. cit.
72 Ibid., p. 39.
73 Ibid.
74 Taran, op. cit., p. 29.
Ibid.

stands for Mother goddess and *mara* is a common term used by the Kashmiri Pandits to address someone with respect.

To sum, the Indo-Greeks not only brought their own gods, goddesses and religious beliefs but they also brought with them many other beliefs prevailing in Selucid empire in general and Bactria and Gandhara in particular. Thus Kashmir became a hub of syncretic religion and culture. After all, the Greeks are known for their religious tolerance.[75]

Science:

Indian astronomy and astrology was greatly profited from the contacts with the Greeks. To quote Taran " ...one thing did come from Babylon to India during the Hellenistic period, the art of fore-telling the future by means of the stars."[76] It is significant to mention that the term *horashastra*, used for astrology in Sanskrit was derived from the Greek term *horoscope*.

Certainly, Kashmiris were exposed to Greek science and they admired it. It was therefore natural that the Kashmir tradition should credit them with working wonders. According to the famous eleventh century A.D. polymath of Kashmir, Ksemendra, " Yavanas can make and fly aeroplanes."[77]

Language:

The profound impact of Greek influence on Kashmir is also borne out by the Kashmiri language which still possesses some Greek words like *kūr* (Gk. *kori* = girl), *piala* (Gk. *Phiali* = cup), *kukur* (Gk.

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75 Ibid.

76 Ibid., p. 386.

77 Levi, *Quid de Graecis*, p. 23. Vide, Taran, op. cit., p. 386.

kokaras cock), *gunnia* i.e., carpenters L-shaped instrument for right angles (Gk. *gonie* = angle, corner) etc.

THE SHAKA AND THE INDO-PARTHIAN PRESENCE IN KASHMIR

Around 75 B.C. the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir situated on its northern and southern borders came under the occupation of a powerful Central Asian nomadic tribe – the Sakas. After about half-a-century rule the Sakas were replaced by yet another tribe of the same region. They were the Parthians living on the Central Asian frontiers of Iran. These developments were the direct result of the troubled conditions obtaining far away on the Central Asian frontiers of China. These unsettled conditions in Central Asia first affected the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir and finally the Valley too. Before we piece together the evidence to show the presence of the Sakas and the Parthians in Kashmir, it is pertinent to make a brief mention of their background and the occupation of the neighbourhood of Kashmir by them.

The Saka was the name of a tribe, belonging to Andronovo culture, an ancient Iranian civilization.[1] They lived in a portion of a vast area known by the generic name of Scythia. The Old Persian, Greek, and Latin sources tend to locate the early habitat of the Sakas

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1 Burchard Brentjes, *Arms of the Sakas*, p.4.

to the north or north-east of Sogdiana (Samarqand) and the Jaxartes.[2] This indicates that the area around the Lake Issyk Kul in Kirgizia, bordering Chinese Central Asia constituted the Saka country.

As already mentioned, Sakas belonged to the Iranian race and they spoke a language which was related to the North Iranian group which includes Sogdain and Pahlavika (Parthian Pahalavi).[3] They worshipped the sun and the bull.[4] Proficient in heavy armourd cavalry, Herodotus singles them out as one of the most advanced nations of the steppes.[5]

The construction of Chinese Wall, particularly when the Han dynasty took special care to maintain the defence of the Wall, released a chain of pressures felt by many powerful Central Asia nomadic tribes. Unable to expand towards China or to launch plundering raids into it, the ferocious Hiun-nu (Hun) tribe exerted pressure on Yueh-chis (Kushans) and drew them from their lands to flee far across the continent. In turn Yueh-chis forced the Sakas to leave the land surrounding Aral Sea. According to a Chinese visitor by about 128 B.C. the shores of Aral Sea were cleared of the Sakas, forcing them to pour into Bactria and Parthia.[6] They snatched Bactria from Heliokles in about 135 B.C and subsequently occupied eastern Iran and

2 Vide, B.N. Mukherjee, "Central Asia and the Indian Sub-continent: The Migratory links of the Sakas" in *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Vol. I, No. I, 1990, pp. 1-2.

3 W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 79.

4 Burchard Brentjes, op. cit. p. 4.

5 Vide, A.M. Leskov, "Mobilier Funeraire: Treasures from the Scythian Barrows," in *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1996, p. 49.

6 Vide, Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, Vol. I, p. 96.

Afghanistan too.[7] However, not long after the Yueh-chis pressure put an end to the Saka rule in Bacteria. Having been forced to flee they ultimately settled in or near Drangiana in South-western Afghanistan. This area finally came to be called Sakastan (present Sistan) after them. Since expansion towards Iran and Central Asia was checked with all might by Parthia and other Central Asian powers, the Sakas directed their stream of invasion towards India.

There has been a controversy among the scholars regarding the route adopted by the Saka invaders to occupy India. However, the startling discoveries made by A.H. Dani have resolved the controversy.[8] He found a large number of Kharoshti inscriptions and rock carvings at the principal river crossings at Shatial, Chilas, Gilgit and Hunza. These petroglyphs make it abundantly clear that the Sakas used Karakorum route for the ultimate occupation of Taxila though the subsequent waves of Sakas would have entered the Indus valley from Sistan also. Thus around 75 B.C the whole of the neighbourhood of Kashmir bordering its north and south had come under the Sakas, ready to penetrate into the Valley. It may be mentioned that the Saka power spread from Gandhara in the north to western India and upper Deccan, creating five centres of power, each under a particular branch of the tribe.

The first Saka king in India was Maues or Moga who established Saka power in Gandhara in about 75 B.C. He was

7 See B.N. Puri, "The Sakas and Indo-Parthians," in *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II. *The Development of Nomadic Civilizations. 700 B.C. to A.D. 250.* UNESCO, 1994, pp. 190-207.

8 A.H. Dani, *History of the Northern Areas of Pakistan*, pp. 118-122; See also his *Chilas*. Pp. 62-66.

succeeded by Azes (also called Azes I), Azilises and Azes II. Another line of the Sakas was that of Vonones who ruled Kandhar and Baluchistan. Some coins carry the name of his brother, Spalahore and his nephew, Spalagadama, showing that Vonones either ruled in association with them or they ruled as sub-kings of Vonones. Since the other three branches of the Sakas with their headquarters in Mathura, western India and Deccan do not concern us, we are leaving them out.

Parthians:

The Indo-Scythian empire of the Sakas was conquered by a Parthian feudal family, which was pursuing the migrating Sakas. The founder of the indo Parthian empire was the Gondophares I. He was succeeded by Abdagases, Orthagnes, Pacores, Gondophares II, Sasan, Arcaces and Sanabares. According to the Takht-i Bahi inscription Gondophares asceded to the throne in A.D. 20.[9] The Parthians were succeeded by the Kushans around the mid of first century A.D. The Indo-Parthian empire was spread over a vast area including Arachosia (Kandhar), Seistan, Sindh, Gandhara and the Kabul Valley.[10]

EVIDENCE OF SAKA AND INDO-PARTHIAN RULE IN KASHMIR

Unlike the neighbouring Chilas or Taxila no rock carving or inscription has so far been found in Kashmir to establish the presence of Sakas and Parthians in the Valley. However, some precious coins belonging to Saka and Parthian rulers have been found at different

9 A.D.H. Bivar, "The History of Eastern Iran," in Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1), p. 197.

10 P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 25.

places in Kashmir and are preserved in S.P.S museum, Srinagar. It may rightly be asked: how the simple presence of coins can prove the political control of Sakas and Parthians over Kashmir? However, in reply it can be safely argued that when the Sakas could reach as far as upper Deccan and western India and established their rule there, how could Kashmir – the beautiful vale situated on the borders of Taxila, Gandhara and Chilas – could escape their empire-building agenda; especially when Kashmir was historically, geographically and culturally intimately related with its northern and ~~southern~~ western neighbourhood. Some place-names also substantiate our argument. For example there is a famous village in Kashmir called as Ajas. Is this a Kashmiri variant of Azes? It seems so unless proved otherwise.

So far as the question of Parthian occupation of Kashmir is concerned, we have not only numismatic evidence but also varied types of sources, supporting the view that Kashmir formed a part of the Indo-Parthian empire. So far the coins of three Indo-Parthian rulers have been found in Kashmir. They are Gondaphares, Abdagases and Zeioneses. Besides there are many place-names which are related to either the Parthian rulers, or Parthian cities or Parthian religion. For example Gund (after Gondaphares), Gous (after Abdagases), Zewan (after Zeioneses), Dūr (after the famous Parthian city Dura-Europos), Ash Muqam, Ash Ash Pur, Ash Much (after the pre-eminent Zoroastrian goddess, Asi)[11], Hari Parbat, Harwan, Harwath (after the sacred Zoroastrian mountain, Hara)[12] etc.

11 For goddess Asi, see Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1), pp. 345, 427, 465.

12 Ibid. pp. 350-351.

No less important information in this regard is supplied by a famous archaeological site of Kashmir, Harwan, particularly by what was found at its highest terrace.[13] Although the question of the identity of Harwan has evoked much controversy – some arguing that it is pre-Kushan site and some that it is a Kushan site,[14] nevertheless there is much weight in the argument which articulates that this place was originally a Parthian site and it was during the Kushan period that the material of this structure was used for constructing Buddhist structures at lower terraces. The argument is based on the following facts:

1) There are at the highest terrace the ruins of an apsidal shrine and around it is located the pavement of terracotta tiles, surrounded on three sides by a low wall of numbered plaques each portraying identical images of an emaciated ascetic figure.
2) There is no comparable example anywhere that can relate it with any Buddhist, Hindu or Jain site.[15]
3) Extreme asceticism and self-mortification are generally abhorred in Buddhism.[16]

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13 The site comprises of three terraces with varied types of remains. These three distinct premises and terraces are away from each other by a few meters (approximately 100ms). Presently only the ruins of the upper most and the lower most terraces are visible. The ruins of the middle terraces are non-existent.

14 For different views, see Robert E. Fisher, "The Enigma of Harwan" in Pratapaditya Pal (ed), *Art and Architecture of Ancient Kashmir*, pp. 1-16; J.L. Bhan, "Tile– A Vital Link between Kashmir and Central Asia," in G.M. Buth (ed), *Central Asia and the Western Himalayas – A Forgotten Link*, pp. ; Ajaz Banday, *Early Terracotta Art of Kashmir*, pp.1sqq.

15 Fisher, op. cit., p. 5.

16 Ibid; also see Bhan, op. cit. p.

Fig. 6.1. 'Parthian Short' – motif on Harwan tile
(courtesy R.C. Kak)

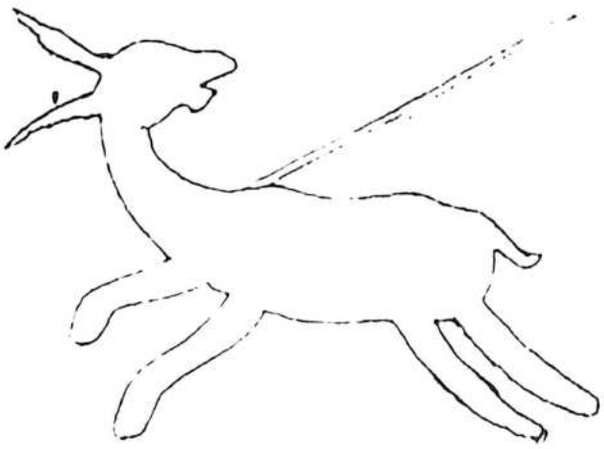

Fig 6.2 Hoinar hunting scene early historical period
(Courtesy S.L Shali)

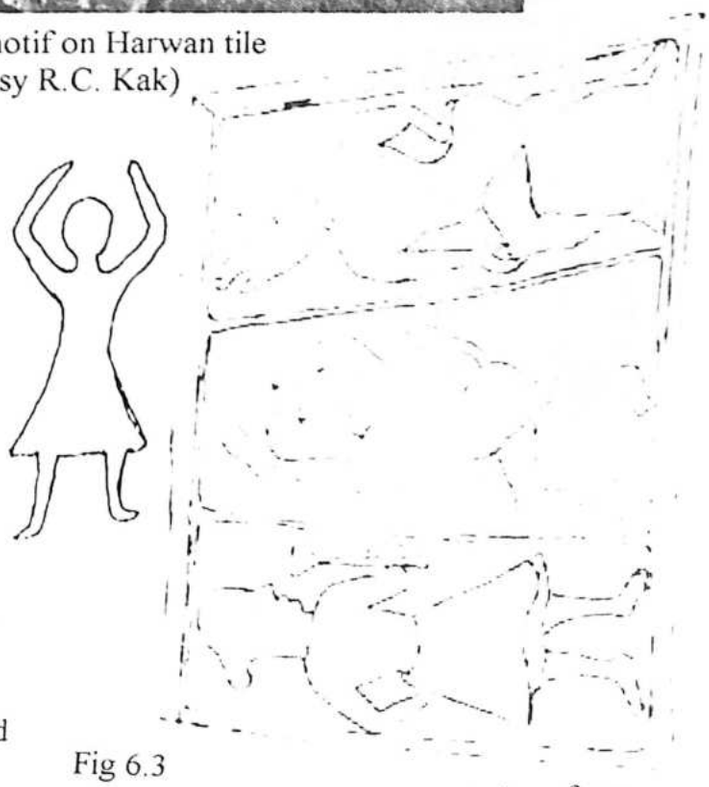

Fig 6.3
Representation of human beings from Hatmura, Kmr. *(Courtesy S.L Shali)*

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17 Ibid.

5) Fired brick floors have been found at the Parthian shrines in Babylonia, Iran and India, including the Mat̄ shrine near Mathura.[18]

6) There is similarity between the subjects found at Harwan and many of the painted ceiling panels of Dura-Europas.[19]

7) The Harwan tiles are stamped with some well known Parthian motifs namely, 'Parthian shot' and Parthian dress – leggings and long skirts, diaphanous garments and prominent ear rings.[20]

8) The long horned stag was sacred animal among the nomads of west Asia.[21]

9) Some of the descriptions of Parthian finds north of the Oxus River are similar to those from Harwan.[22] Khalachayan (Uzbeikistan) has yielded some fired tiles (from walls) illustrating classical figures and representations of people.[23] Another site near Bukhara has revealed a number of decorative stuccos with geometric and vegetation ornament and procession of animals and birds.[24] The wall paintings from the Parthian site of Toprak Kala also illustrates themes similar to those seen at Harwan.[25] And the intertwined serpents from Lidder are also found among Parthian remains in Iran.[26]

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18 Fisher, p. 8.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid; also Bhan, p. 78.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid, p.10.

10) The motifs on some Hoiner tiles representing two winged lions locked in a fierce combat have a parallel in Iran at Qateh-i-Yazdigird, a Parthian site.[27] It is reminiscent of ancient Mesopotamian tradition.[28] Such motifs are reported to have come from Nuristan in Afghanistan as well; and have been often encountered in Scythian burials.[29]

11) In the eastern areas of Parthian rule some clay bricks contained numbers, similar to the system used at Harwan, to assist in their correct placement.[30]

12) The over all plan of Harwan is informed by Parthian influence. The great Parthian fire temple at Surkh Kotal is, like Harwan, a terraced structure with a courtyard surrounding the main temple and is located upon the highest level. Both Surkh Kotal and Harwan originally had a stairway leading through the centre of each terrace.[31]

Despite having shown strong linkages between the finds obtained at the highest terrace of Harwan site and the Parthian Civilization, Robert Fisher is unable to place the emaciated ascetic plaque of Harwan within the Parthian Civilizational framework. Thus he identifies the ascetics with Ajivikas and opines that the site was

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27 J. L. Bhan, "Iconographic Interaction between Kashmir and Central Asia" in B.K. Koul Deambi (ed), *Kashmir and Central Asia*, p. 77.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Fisher, p. 5.

31 Ibid, p. 10.

Fig 6.4 i, Tile stamped with a figure of intertwined lions, Hoinar, Pahalgam, Kashmir.

(Courtesy Koul Deambi)

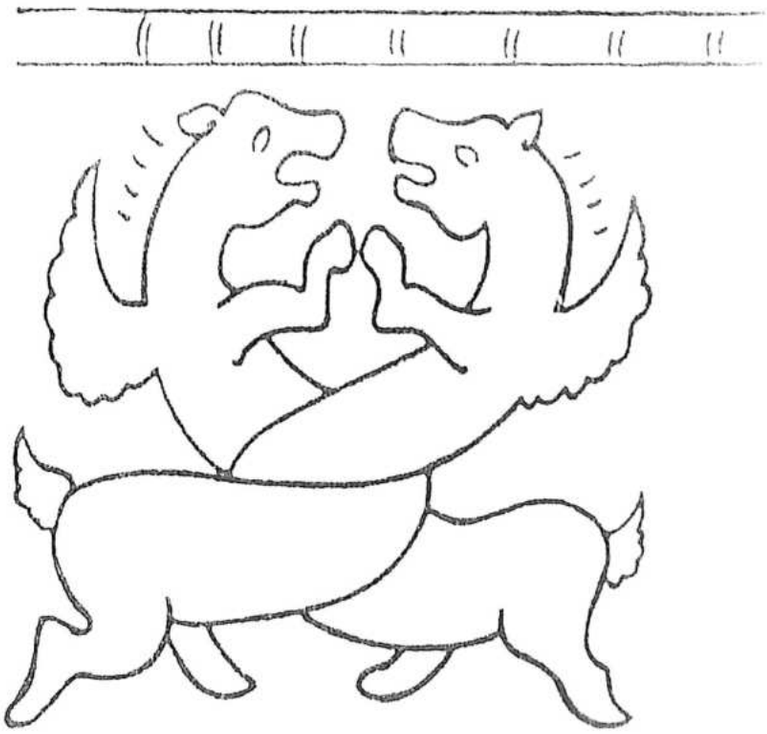

Fig 6.5 ii, Interwined Lions, stone, Qatejh-I-Yazdigird, Iran

(Courtesy Koul Deambi)

originally occupied by the Ajivikas.[32] However, we should not forget the fact that the Parthians sphere of influence was the cradle of Gnostic movement and that the Parthians were also influenced by the Greek and Indian cultures which were known for manifold ascetic movements. Regarding the prevalence of Gnostic movement during the Parthian period, Ehsan Yarshater writes:

> Zurvanite doctrines are also invoked in discussions of the Iranian share in the development of gnostic religions, which had a considerable vogue in the Middle East during the Hellenistic period and after. The gnostic movement essentially espouses a rather pessimistic view of the world. In its more typical form it postulates a remote and aloof supreme deity who leaves the direction of the world to lesser creative principles of dubious benevolence. It envisages the redemption of the soul from the shackles of matter or worldly existence by a divine or divinely inspired redeemer through illuminating knowledge (gnosis).[33]
>
> It is true that such views differ in outlook from Gāthic Zoroastrianism and the optimistic view of the world reflected in known Zoroastrian writings. Therefore a number of scholars have emphasized the non-Iranian, particularly Greek, ancestry of gnostic ideas. On the other hand, some historians of religion have drawn attention to the close relationship of Gnostic doctrines with those of the Zurvanites, pointing particularly to the Parthian sphere of influence as the cradle of the gnostic movement.

Also, it is well known about the Parthians that they showed liberal attitude towards absorbing the cultures which they encountered

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32 Ibid, pp. 10-16.

33 *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1), Intr. pp. ixvii-ixviii.

with. Alexander's historians were struck by what they called 'naked philosophers' whom they found in Taxila.[34] The description of these ascetics figures prominently in their accounts. They used to go out naked and devoted to endurance by undergoing physical austerities and by exposing their bodies to sun and rain. They enjoyed considerable veneration among the people.[35] In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* there is also a mention of 'naked mendicants' in Kashmir.[36] Though the reference is of later date, it was in all probability a continuation of old times as Kashmir has always remained culturally a part of Gandhara. Thus the Parthians confronted with a social and mental aura both within and without Kashmir where ascetics were highly venerated, influencing them to absorb the Indian asceticism in their own culture which was favourably disposed towards gnosticism.

Another important but less noticed fact that further links the site with Iranian culture is the name of the place where the site is located. It is called Harvan. It is composed of two words *har* and *van*. *Van* means jungle and *har* is derivative of Hara – the sacred hill in the Zoroastrian world view.[37] According to the Zoroastrian belief about the world and its creation, the greatest mountain which grew from the earth was the high Hara which encompassed the earth and kept growing.[38] It was believed that the stars, the moon and the sun, which were imagined to be below the vault of the sky, had their orbit around

34 Arrian, 7.2, vide, Saifur Rahman Dar, *Taxila*, p.81.
35 Ibid.
36 *Rajatarangini*, tr. M. A. Stein, Book VII. 1094.
37 *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1), pp. 350-351.
38 Ibid

the Peak of Hara.[39] According to the Mithra Yasht 51-52, Ahura Mazda together with the Amesa Spentas made a dwelling for Mithra on high Hara wherefrom he watches whole world.[40] To be sure, like most migrants, the early Iranians seem to have applied old names to the new places.[41]

There is also another important religious place in Kashmir which is named after Hara. It is called Hari Parbat. Parbat in Sanskrit means hill. Hari Parbat is situated amidst the old Srinagar and has always remained a sacred spot. With the spread of Brahmanism the place was integrated into the new tradition by weaving a new myth that it is the abode of Sharika Devi.[42] Sharika (meena) is called in Kashmiri *ha'r*. Therefore it was made to believe that it is the mountain of *h'ar* (Sk. sharika). The myth also smacks of Zoroastrian influences. It is believed that the Hari Parbat is that pebble with which the goddess Sharika killed the demon, who had occupied the lake in which Kashmir was converted.[43] And it became sacred not only because it is the pebble of the Devi but more so because she herself made it her abode so that the *dev* (demon) does not resurrect.[44] It may be mentioned that in Zoroastrian teachings, the demons are the followers of *drug*, " Falsehood" and they are the particular targets of divine wrath and were slain by thousands at the hands of various

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39 Ibid, p. 351.

40 Ibid.

41 The application of old names to new places was an established feature of Iranian society. See ibid, p. 352.

42 Cf. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 87-88.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid

deities.[45] Thus not only here the *dev* is killed but the goddess takes abode on the hill like Mitra on high Hara.

Prof. Gulshan Majid also finds Iranian presence in Harwan. To quote him:

> Most of the motifs like almond-shape leaves growing in water, ducks, aquatic flowers, *apsaras*, erotic human figures, garlands, the shells found in water, the pearls formed in water, flower pots and grape vines intimate that the goddess related to these forms is none other than the gods *Anaheta*. It is possible that water must have been flowing over these tiles and this too is probable that sacrifices were made in the name of goddess *Anaheta* at the site.[46]

He also suggests linkage of Harwan with other places of Kashmir, namely, Harut and Marut (the Kashmiri variant of Harutat, the god of vitality and Marvitat, the god of preservation in Zoroastrianism) Hoynar and Hutmara (where Harwan like tiles have been found).[47] From the present stage of knowledge it seems that tile work has started at the closely placed sites of Doen Pather on the right side of river Liddar.[48] Is Don Pather the derivative of Doni-par, the famous river of Central Asia with which the Parthians were accustomed to? Did the Parthians call Liddar after the famous Doni par? We leave it as an open question.

NATURE OF THE SAKA-PARTHIAN CULTURE

The Sakas and the Parthians, it may be noted, belonged to almost the same culture. Both, as mentioned earlier, belonged to the

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45 *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1), p. 347.

46 Gulshan Majid, "Harwan Ruins: A Study of Iranian Influences", in S. M. Afzal Qadri (ed.), *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, p. 67.

47 Ibid

Iranian race and both spoke Iranian language. Although the Parthians had made much cultural progress as compared to the Sakas, nonetheless by the time they reached India they had achieved the same cultural level for which the Parthians were known. Having lived in the world dominated by the imperial Parthians (Arascids), the Sakas had got mixed up ethnically as well as culturally with the Parthians.[49] The resemblance in their culture was so close that a modern scholar believes that Maue was not a Scythian but he was a Parthian through and through.[50] In support of his argument he says that Maue and Azes issued Parthian types of coins such as "standing Poseidon", " king on horse backs (in which horse is not prancing) and " standing victory." Besides their coin legends are the same as those of the Parthians and they also used Parthian tile, *maharaja rajatiraja*[51] *(king of the kings).* Though it would be incorrect to represent Maue and his successors as Parthians, it is beyond doubt that the Sakas were thoroughly influenced by the Parthian culture. The Parthian culture was basically a syncretic culture drawn from different sources. Yet, the Grecco-Iranian elements are prominent. To quote Koshelenko and Pilipko:

> Parthian culture developed through the interaction of a number of factors – the Achaemenid heritage, the conceptions of the Hellenistic period, the contribution of nomadic Parni, and the particular cultural traditions of the people who made up the Parthian

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48 Ajaz Banday, op. cit., p. 2.
49 B. N. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 3.
50 J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leew, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 338-340.
51 Ibid.

state. The basic trend in the development of Parthian Culture was the synthesis of Greek and local sources.[52]

IMPACT

Coinage

Since the coins are our basic sources and as they alone provide us a direct evidence on Saka-Parthian contacts of Kashmir, it is in the fitness of things to begin our discussion with a brief mention of their coinages.

As already referred to, the coins of four Indo-Scythian and three Indo-Parthian rulers have been so for found in Kashmir. The rulers whose coins have been found are: Azes, Azilises, Spalahore, Spalagadama, Gondaphares, Abadagases and Zeioneses. The first four are Indo-Scythian and the last three Indo-Parthian rulers. Both silver and copper cions were issued by them. These coins have been found at various places of Kashmir and are preserved in S.P.S museum, Srinagar.

Commenting on the art of Parthian coins, Daniel Schlumberger writes, "Thus Parthian coinages remain to the end in the line of their Greek origin. Only they become stereotyped, and their Greek legends become faulty: they are "barbarized" Greek coins[53]." The same is true of Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins as for the most part they retained the monetary system and devices of their predecessors – Bacterian Greeks. They retained the silver denominations

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52 G.A. Koshelenko and V. N. Pilipko, "Parthia" in *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II. *The Development of Sedentry and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C to A.D. 250*. UNESCO, 1994, p. 147.

(tetradrachms and drachms) and square coppers of Indo-Greeks. After the Indo-Greek model, they minted in silver and copper, issued them by die-striking technique, put portraits of the rulers, their names and epithets, and imprinted them with bilingual inscriptions and figures of deities. Like the Indo-Greeks, the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians issued bilingual coins– Greek inscription printed on the obverse side and its translation in Prakrit written in Kharoshti script on the reverse. Besides, their coins bear the Greek deities such as Nike, Pallas and Zeus on the reverse.

However, the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians did not simply follow their predecessors, without making any changes. As early as Mau's reign, we notice some un-Greek types, such as the mounted king in armour, holding a lance or a whip, or the king sitting cross-legged on cushions. These types are again to be found on the numerous coins of Azes and Azilises, the mounted king being the most common. They are also found on the Indo-Parthian coins especially on the Gondophares' coins. This type of a heavily armoured rider reminds one of the nomadic natures of the tribes. Moreover, instead of the Indo-Greek title of 'king' they styled the rulers who struck the coins 'Great King of Kings' – *Besileus Basileon* in Greek and *rajatiraja mahata* in Kharoshti.

Besides adopting the types issued by Maues his successors also issued some new types. For example, Azes introduced a type which has a king riding on a two-humped Bactrian camel and holds an

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53 Daniel Schlumberger, "Parthian Art" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (2), p. 1030.

ankusa[54] (goad). This is an interesting reflection of his nomadic life. Azilisis, the successor of Azes, issued a strikingly original Indian device – Abhisheka Lakshmi, i.e., Lakshmi standing facing a lotus flower with twin stalks and leaves; and on each leaf stands an elephant sprinkling water on the head of Lakshmi.[55]

Fig. 6.6 Scythian Coins, *SPS Museum,* Srinagar.

Fig. 6.7 Parthian Coin, *SPS Museum,* Srinagar.

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54 Gupta, op. cit., p.24.

55 Ibid, p. 25.

Under Azes faulty Greek legends begin to appear and they became common under Gundaphares.[56]

Trade:

The presence of Scythian and Parthian coins in Kashmir shows it clearly that the commercial relations, which Kashmir had maintained with the neighbouring areas since long, continued uninterrupted during the Saka-Parthian period too. It may be mentioned that during the Saka-Parthian rule Kashmir was linked with China, Central Asia, Iran, India and Tibet through Dardistan and Taxila which formed an important part of Indo-Scythian empire. However, in the absence of any direct information it is difficult to say anything about the commodity structure of the imports and exports except to guess that the military technology of the Sakas and Parthians might have exercised a great demand in Kashmir for war horses besides gold, silver and bronze formed the characteristic traits of the Scythian and Parthian culture.[57]

Military technology and strategy:

Like other nomadic people of Central Asia under whose constant pressure China, Europe, the Middle East, Iran and India lived upto 16th century A.D, the power of the Sakas was the cavalary, the availability of thousands of horses, the spread of their armies and the abilities of their leaders.[58]

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56 Daniel Schlumberger, op. cit., p. 1030.

57 For an extensive use of gold and bronze by the Scythians, see Burchard Brentjes, op. cit., p. 5.

58 Ibid.

The same is true of the Parthians as well. Herodian stresses that the Romans were invincible on foot and the Parthians on horseback.[59] The Parthians were unrivelled as mounted archers who were able to shoot while riding at full speed. Also, they pretended to flee, and suddenly turned round and aimed their deadly arrows at their pursuers. This is proverbial "Parthian shot". It was as often quoted in literature as depicted in art.[60]

The arms of the Sakas and the Parthians were the bow and the arrow, the lance and the javelin, the dagger and the sword. They used helmets and armours.[61] Authors of the late antiquity have left us vivid description of the horror felt by the Romans when they saw for the first time the Parthian archers completely encased in armour.[62] Flexible mail covered every limb, their faces were hidden behind masks and even horses were protected by mail.[63] The same is true of the Sakas. At more than three hundred sites fragments of scale armour were found in the western steppes.[64]

The first clear evidence of the impact of Saka- Parthian military technology on Kashmir comes from Harwan tiles. These tiles show a horse fully accourted and horseman in armour riding at full gallop and drawing his bow. On the right attached to the saddle hangs his quivor. These tiles contain Kharoshti numerals and horseman represented on the tiles bear heavy features, prominent cheek bones, narrow, sunk

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59 Otto Kurz, "Cultural Relations between Parthia and Rome" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1), p. 561.

60 Ibid.

61 For details see *Arms of the Sakas*, op. cit.,

62 Otto Kurz, op. cit., p. 651.

63 Ibid.

64 For details see Burchard Brentjes, pp. 66-70.

and slanting eyes and receeding foreheads– a Central Asian physiognomy. The horseman appears in Parthian dress and Turkoman caps.

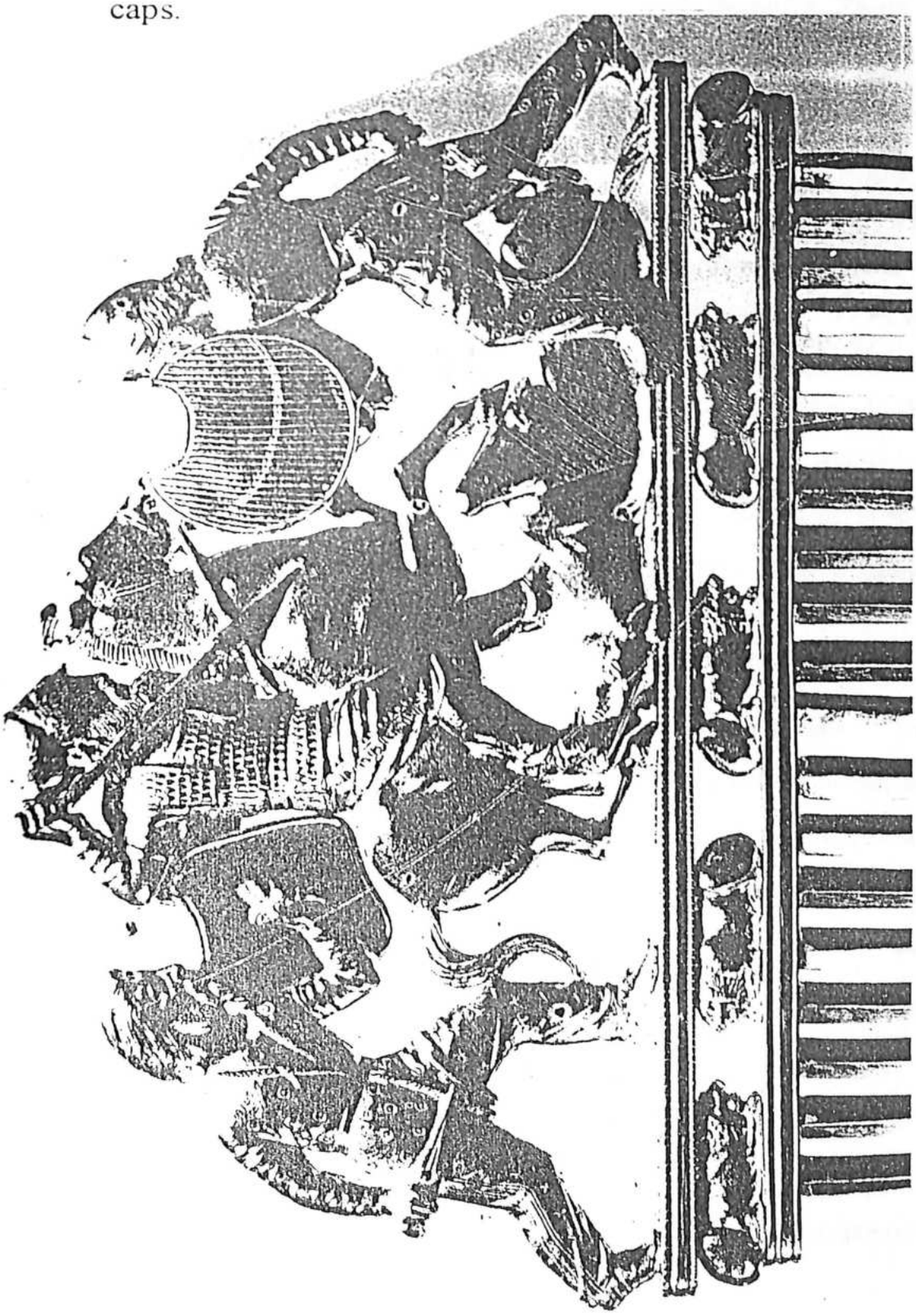

Fig. 6.8 The comb from Solokha, gold, 12,3 cm high, 10,2 cm broad

Three Scythians fighting, the rider with an imported Greek helmet, a scale armour, a shield for the back, a quiver and a spear; the warrior with a cap wears a combined armour, a moon-like shield and an akinakes, the third one has a dagger, a quiver, and a broad shield.

Architecture and Art:

It is evident that the Sakas followed the Greek ideas in town planning and copied Greek prototypes in their architecture.[65] Subsequently Indian influence becomes increasingly noticeable. The Parthian period witnessed more vigorously the re-emergence of Hellenistic art and architecture.[66] The legend of St. Thomas, skilled in architecture and all types of work in wood and stone, being sold in Syria to a merchant called Habban and being brought to the court of Gondophares, is set against the background that skilled craftsmen from western Asia were commissioned to do work for the Parthians.[67] Gondophares rebuilt Taxila after it suffered a great earthquake. He introduced new building methods including a strong form of diaper masonry.[68] The Parthians had also achieved great excellence in making fired moulded tiles with pictorial variety.[69]

Although no building of the period has survived to us, nonetheless it is abundantly clear that the development of syncretic architecture, which had started much earlier, received further impetus at the hands of Scythians and Parthians. The typical example of this is the moulded tiles of an extinct structure and the remains of an apsidal temple found at Harwan. According to Percy Brown the motifs of these tiles suggest the impact of half a dozen civilizations of the

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65 Dar, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

66 Ibid, p. 101.

67 B. N. Puri, "The Sakas and Indo-Parthians" in *History of Civilization in Central Asia*, Vol., II, p. 205.

68 Ibid.

69 Robert E. Fisher, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

ancient world.[70] The diaper masonry, which we see having developed in Taxila under Gondophares, is seen the main mode of construction at Harwan. Three different phases of building activity belonging to different ages have been noticed here. These are the pebble, the diaper pebble and the diaper rubble – the system of construction we find in many buildings at Taxila.[71]

The overall plan of Harwan may also be due to Parthian influence. Like Harwan the fire temple at Surkh Kotal (Bactria) is a terraced structure with a courtyard surrounding the main temple located upon the highest level. Both Harwan and Surkh Kotal originally had a stairway leading to the centre of each terrace.[72] The apsidal temple preceded by an oblong hall has resemblance with temple of Artemis – Nanaia at Dura-Europos (a famous Parthian site) and also with the apsidal structure of Sirkap, the Grecco-Parthian city.[73]

The Greek style of town planning and Greeco-Indian architecture which received great advancement during the Sakas and the Parthians left a deep imprint on Kashmir notwithstanding the politico-religious changes in Kashmir. The famous stone temples of

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70 "Such are the Barhut railing, the Greek "swag", the Sassanian foliated bird, the Persian vase, the Roman rosette, the Chinese fret, the Indian elephant, the Assyrian lion, with figures of dancers, musicians, cavaliers, ascetics and racial types from many sources as may be seen by their costumes and accessories." Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, p. 154.

71 Puri, op. cit. 205.

72 Daniel Schlumberger, op. cit., p. 1044.

73 According to Saifur Rahman Dar there is an intimate resemblance between the temple of Artemis - Nanaia at Dura Europos and the Sukh Kotal in Bactria. Dar, op. cit., p. 34. Since the Surk Kotal temple resembles with Harwan in many ways, it is tempting to infer that the Harwan temple would have been similar to the temple at Dura as well.

sixth-seventh century Kashmir present a classic example of syncretic architecture with significant Greek elements.[74]

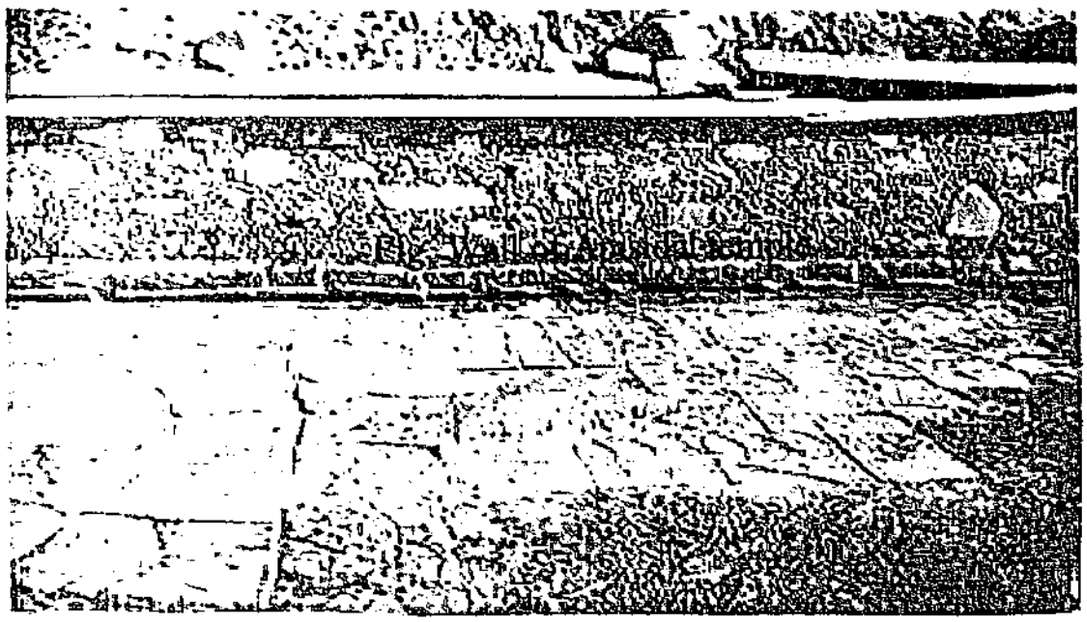

Fig. 6.9 Wall of Apsidal Temple in Diaper pebble style with portion of tile pavement Harwan.
Courtesy R.C.Kak

Amorous scenes, wine drinking, dancing and musical representation are seen on some tiles of Harwan. It may be mentioned that under the influence of Hellenistic culture the art of bacchanalian

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74 See Alexander Cunningham, "Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture,"*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, 1848, pp. 241-327; James Fergusson,

scenes had thrived during Parthians in North-West India. These were the favourite themes adopted for the decoration of the Buddhist stupas.[75] To quote Saifur Rahman Dar, "The Hellenistic motifs during Parthian period consist of pure Aphrodisiac and Dionysiac scenes. This re-emergence of Hellenistic motifs during Parthian supremacy and later is quite in keeping with other material excavated at Taxila[76]."

Art:

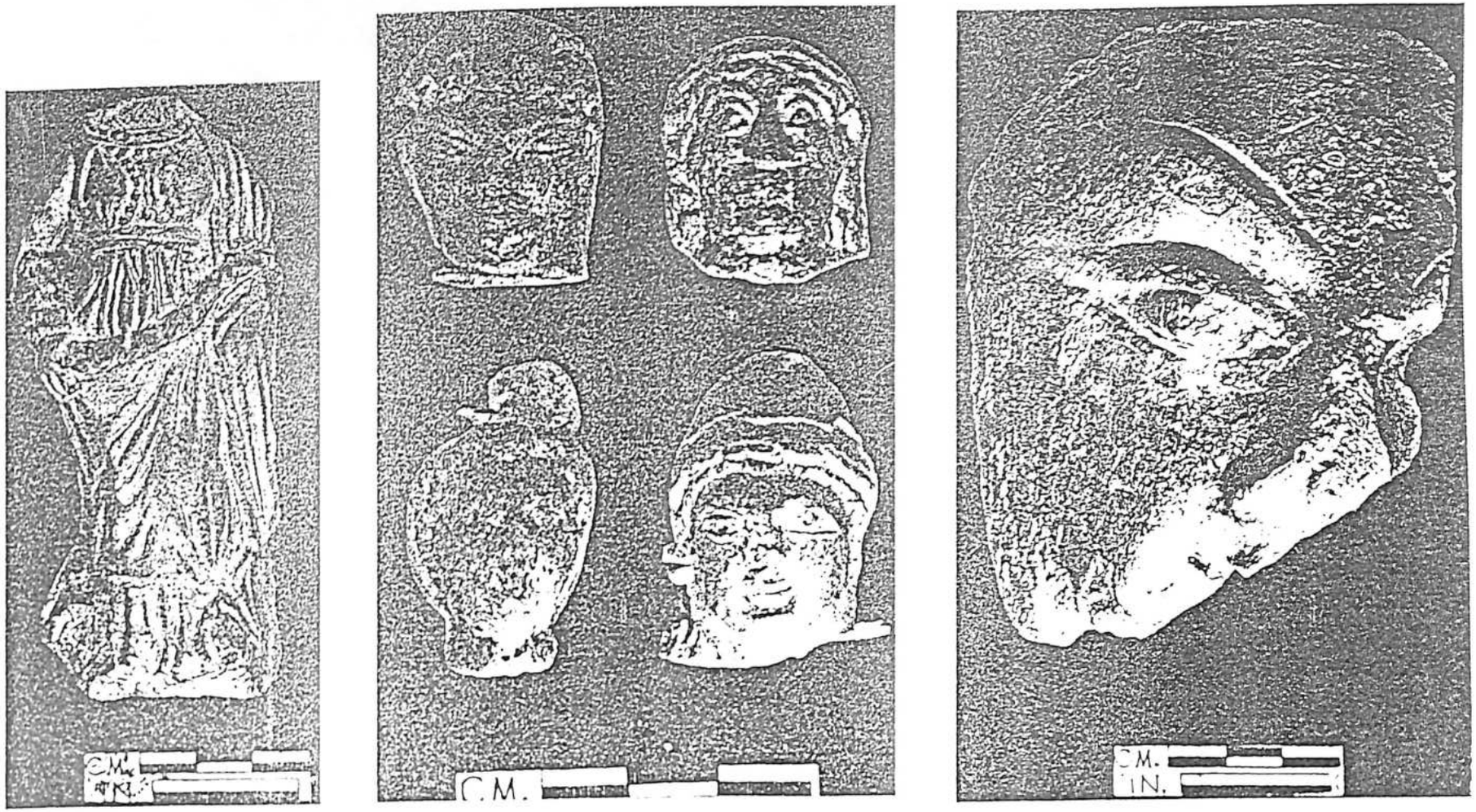
In his pioneering and richly documented essay "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art" Rostovtzeff distinguishes several features which characterize Parthian art. Chief among these is "the frontality" of human and animal figures whereby all figures in painting and sculpture are portrayed full face and in frontal representation, looking the beholder in the eyes: neglect of the body (in contrast to Greek art). Others are linearity of contour; painstaking depiction of details of dress, ornament, furniture and ethnic characteristics (oriental "verismus"); spirituality, in that the faces and features of gods or holy personages are made to appear celestial and ethereal, even without the help of a halo or radiant crown; repetition of the same figures with rigid ritual poses and expressions in the depiction of ceremonial and conventional scenes; and finally in scenes of hunt, combat or chase, portrayal of figures on horses at a flying gallop.[77]

History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, pp. 251-70.

75 Puri, op. cit., p. 205.

76 Dar, op. cit., p. 101.

77 M.I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art" in *Yale Classical Studies* 5 (1935), pp. 155-304.



A B C

Fig. 6.10 *Semthan [illegible] human figurines, surface colour [illegible]*

The Parthian art seems to have become established in the course of the first century A.D over "a large area of the eastern world from the Euphrates to China, from Siberia to India, from the highlands of Mongolia to the Bosphorus.[78]"

The evidence of the impact of this art on Kashmir is evident from terracotta tiles of Harwan and the terracottas found at Semthan and Ushkar. It may be mentioned that the most widespread form of artistic craft of Parthians was the fashioning of the terracotta statues.[79] And it is this that we find in Kashmir.

The Scythian art is well known for what is known as pure animal style. Harwan has provided a large number of tiles with animal motifs. Animal representation is both mythical and real. This includes besides galloping horse, long horned dear, cows suckling their young, domestic cocks with foliated tails in roundels or in the centre of floral patterns, running or flying geese holding lotus stalks in their beaks, cocks and rams fighting, *makara* type of fanciful animals, lions and fish etc. Semthan has also revealed a terracotta figurine of a lion. Lion, it may be mentioned, was very popular with the Scythians.[80] Its popularity enhanced further with the conversion of Sakas to Buddhism as it was associated with Buddha – the Lion of the Saka family.[81]

78 Ghirshman, *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians*, p. 280.
79 Koshelenko and Pilipko, op. cit., p. 147.
80 Dar, op. cit., p. 120.
81 Ibid.

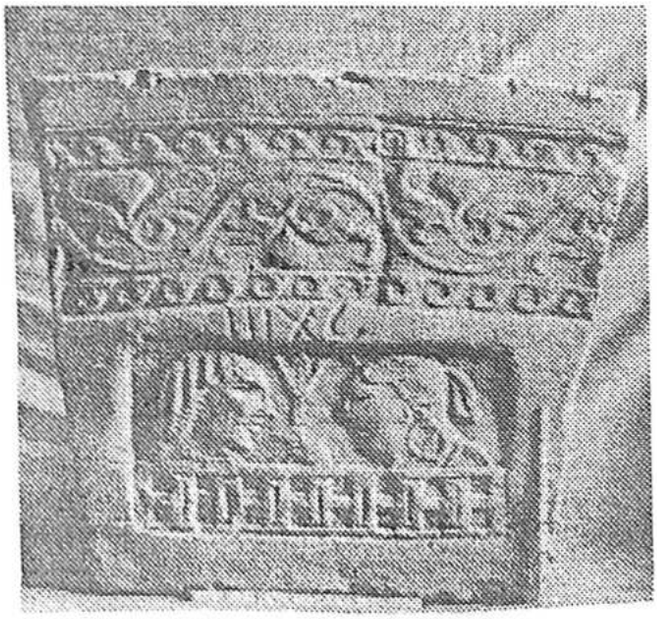


Fig. 6.11

Terracotta tiles found in excavation at Harwan, district Srinagar (Curtsey R.C. Agrawal)

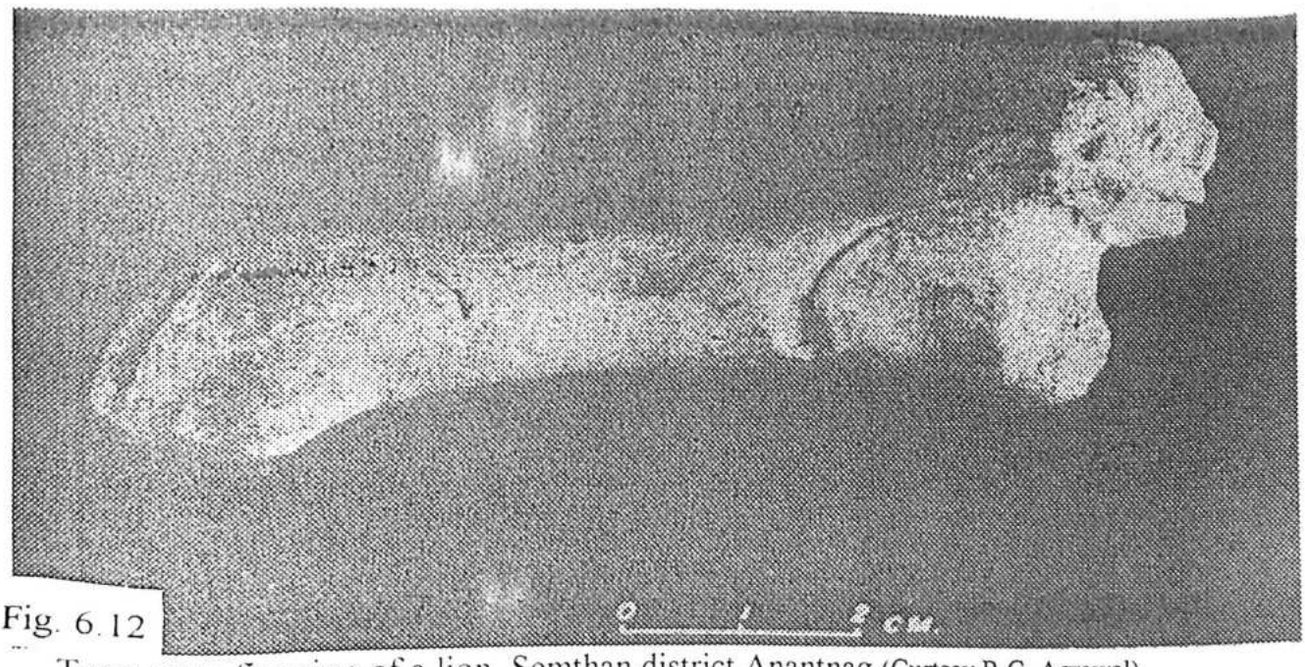


Fig. 6.12

Terracotta figurine of a lion, Semthan district Anantnag (Curtsey R.C. Agrawal)

Religion:

The epigraphic and numismatic evidence available on the Saka and Parthian period suggests an atmosphere of remarkable catholicity in this period – the rulers showing equal regards towards Greek religion, Buddhism, Brahmanism and Zoroastrianism. As we mentioned above, the coins of the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians bear the portraits of Greek divinities, showing the profound impact of Greek religious tradition upon them. Although no inscription of the period has survived to us, the inscriptions found at Taxila and elsewhere show the Saka and Pahlava rulers depositing the Buddhist relics and constructing *viharas*. The Taxila copper plate of Patika records the establishment of the relics of the Lord Sakyamuni and the founding of a *sangarama* by Patika, the son of Maue's kshatrapa of Chuksha.[82] From the period of Azes we have growing evidence of patronage bestowed upon Buddhism by Saka rulers. The same is true of the Parthian rulers as well.[83] The Sakas and the Parthian rulers were also influenced by Brahmanism. We find Azilises introducing a coin type which bears the motifs of Abhisheka Lakshmi – strikingly original Indian device.[84] Gondophares also used for the first time the figure of Siva on his coinage from the middle Indus provinces.[85]

Notwithstanding the tolerant attitude towards Buddhism, Jainism, Brahmanism and Greek religion and the influence these beliefs exercised upon their world view, the Sakas and the Parthians also retained their own Iranian faith – Zoroastrianism which left a

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82 Puri, op. cit., p. 206

83 Ibid

84 Gupta, op. cit., p. 25.

deep imprint on the belief system of Kashmir. That Zoroastrianism spread in Kashmir during the period is amply borne out by some place-names and beliefs and rituals of Kashmir. Of the place-names mention may be made of Mitar gom (village of Mitar after the Iranian divine being, Mitra), Mir (Mihr) Aur, Akhur (Ahura), Anich Dūr (Anahita Durra), Hari Parbat, the hill of Hara (Hara) and Harwan, the Jungle of Hara (Hara), Vareh-haran (Varhran).

Besides the main gods (Ahura Mazda, Mitra and Varuna) the Indo-Iranian pantheon included nature deities who symbolized the sun, the moon, and other luminaries, water, fire, wind and sky. Particularly prominent among these deities in Iran was the goddess of the waters, *Aradvi Sura*, who is celebrated in the *Ābān Yasht* of the Avesta and to whom many Iranian heroes offered sacrifice.[86] Since in Kashmir every single water body – spring, lake, river, and stream – is auspicious as each of them symbolizes one or the other water deity, it is quite reasonable to say that this belief is as much the result of Iranian religious influences as it is sustained by Vedic religion. The association of the most primitive form of worship of Kashmir – serpent worship– with springs is also most probably the result of the sacredness which the waters assumed on account of the Iranian religious influences together with the spread of Vedic religion. It may be mentioned that in Kashmir spring is called *nag* (after Sanskrit naga, serpent). There is a popular belief in Kashmir that tutelary deities reside in springs and other water bodies; and they represent

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85 Puri, op. cit. p. 207.

86 Ehsan Yarshater, " Iranian Common Beliefs and World-View" in his (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1), p. 344.

themselves in the form of snakes (*nagas*). Thus spring came to be called nag, the symbol of water deity.

Another significant example of Zoroastrian presence in Kashmir is a very popular festival celebrated in South Kashmir. It is called *Frove*. It is held at the shrine of a popular Rishi saint of Kashmir, Zain al- Din Rishi in the month of Āsid. The *Frove* continues for ten days. However, the most important event in which the whole populace of the area would participate, no matter even if they could not make it to visit the shrine, is what is known as *Z'ana Shah Sa 'bun zool* (bone-fire of Zain al-Din Rishi). On this day immediately after the sun set, the people, young and old, would gather at some open space to burn *laisch* (the chipps of pine wood arranged and tightly secured round a stick); and those who could not manage to have *laisch*, they would prefer to burn paddy grass, rather than to afford non-participation in this sacred ceremony- *Frove*.

What is the origin of *Frove*? Prof. Gulshan Majid rightly finds it in Zorastrian presence in Kashmir. According to him *Frove* is the derivative of *frover*, an Avesten term for soul; and the *frover* is rooted in the term *fravardin*, meaning honouring the dead.[87]

In the Zoroastrian religion, notwithstanding the dominated position of Ahura Mazda (the supreme god), individual deities, however, retain their powers and characters. They can aid those who worship them or frustrate and punish those who reject them. Thus Mitra and Aradvi Sura remain prominent, and the *fravasis* and

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87 Gulshan Majid, "The Frove: A Connecting Link between Zoroastrianism and Kashmir," in *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Vol. 7, 1996, p. 62.

Xvaranah (Divine fortune) continue to be important factors in human life as well as in world events.[88]

The *fravasis* were the souls of the departed. The *fravasis* were conceived as invisible powerful beings who could assist their kinsmen and ward off harm from tham if properly commemorated with offerings and prayers.[89] The Farvardin Yast (Yasht 13), devoted to the celebration of the immortal spirits of the dead (*fravasis*) enumerates in a long register the heroes of the faith from the beginning of the world to the end of the time. The list includes the names of deities, mythical and legendry figures of the national history, the helpers of Zoraster and many others whose *fravasis* have to be specially invoked.[90]

Accordingly, the Zoroastrians have in particular reserved a number of days to commemorate the dead. These days are collectively known as *fravardigan*, a festival that lasts for ten days.[91] The first five days are more important as they belong to righteous souls whose *fravasis* come to revisit the world during these days. The days of *farvadigan* are devoted to the recitation of relevant portions of the Gathas, worshipping of fire and offerings of *darun*, fruit, water and ghee.[92]

The time of *Frove* celebration in Kashmir is an additional evidence to substantiate the theory that the ritual is a vestige of

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88 Ehsan Yarshater, op. cit., p. 344.
89 Ibid, pp. 344 – 45; pp. 414 sqq
90 Ibid
91 Gulshan Majid, op. cit., p.63.
92 Ibid, p. 64.

Zoroastrianism that once exercised a powerful influence on Kashmir. To quote Gulshan Majid:

> The month of Acid in which the *Frove* is held, has a significant correspondence with the 9th month *Ac,iyadiya* of the old Persian calendar inscribed on the rock of Behistun by Darius (522- 486 B.C.). *Ac,iyadiya* means to honour fire. In the Zoroastrian calendar it is replaced by *Atur* (*Adar*) again meaning the fire. If Nyberg is to be believed the year started with the month of Dadv and ended with the Atur. In this case the most important intercalary days fell between Aciyadeya (Atur) and Anamika – nameless month (Dadv). So *Farvardigan* ceremonies could well be held in Aciyadiya.[93]

While holding of *zool* (bon-fires) is a common phenomenon associated with the *urus* celebrations of the Rishis, the folk heroes of Kashmiris, the question may be asked why the celebration of *Frove* is so strongly attached to one shrine only. The answer to this question may perhaps be found in the place name where the shrine of the Rishi is located. It is known as 'Aish Muqām. 'Aish is in all probability derived from Ashi, one of the most popular deities in Zoroastrianism; she is the goddess of reward, blessing, wealth and fortune. Portrayed as a noble and invincible maiden[94], Ashi is one of the major Iranian deities venerated also in the Gathas.[95] Given the power of goddess Ashi it is no wonder that her *fravasis* was frequently invoked with much veneration and she had assumed wide popularity[96]– too much to be forgotten even after the religious changes. The only change that was gradually affected by the time was

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93 Ibid.
94 Cf. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (1), pp. 345, 427, 465.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.

that instead of goddess Ashi, *Frov* came to be held in the name of new folk-hero – Zain al-Dīn Rishi. It is also significant to note that Zain al-Dīn Rishi is remembered to have occupied the cave after overpowering the dragons and monsters who occupied the cave before the arrival of Zain al-Dīn Rishi. Significantly enough in Zoroastrian religion dragons and monsters are recurrent adversaries.[97] And the *zool* (bone-fire) held at the time of *Frove* symbolizes the victory of Zain al-Dīn over the dragons and demons.

Another popular ritual which connects Kashmir with Zoroastrian Iran is what is Known as *roohan posh* (flowers of souls). This ritual is being held in the month of *Vaihaik*. In this month the Kashmiri Muslims remember their deed, visit their graves, sprinkle water over them and distribute backed loaves called *roohan tsuchi* (breads in memory of souls). It may be mentioned that the month of *Vaihaik* corresponds with the month of *Farvardin* of Zoroastrian calander. It is on the 19th day of this month that Parsis remember their dead, offer wood to the fire, and visit their towers of silence situated on the hills. And the custom of distributing *roohan tsuchi* has a close resemblance with the tradition of making ceremonial breads for distribution among Parsis.[98]

Impact on Buddhism

While Buddhism–originally abstract and without images–started representing Buddha, Boddhisattavas, gods and demons under Greek influence, the Iranian Influences on Buddhism can be seen in the concept of Buddha Mitreya, the most famous of the Bodhisattvas,

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97 Ibid, pp. 347-348.

who has messianic features reminiscent of Soshyant, the Zoroastrian saviour.[99] It may be mentioned that it is this kind of Buddhism – Mahayana Buddhism – which became popular in Kashmir. Iranian influences also greatly influenced the Buddhist art, but the period from which the influences began to be felt falls outside the scope of the present work.

Sun worship:

Sakas, as we know, were essentially sun and bull worshippers. And it is believed that sun worship was introduced in India by a group of Magians who accompanied the Saka invaders in the middle of the Ist century B.C and were priests.[100] Associated with their god Mit (h)ra were Ashi, Cista, Rashnu and Sraosha. His worshippers hoped for paradise (Suryaloka), which made this religion more readily acceptable to Vishnu.[101] In Kashmir we find sun worship a very popular cult, particularly among the Vishnavites which was one of the dominating cults of Kashmir.[102] More importantly, there are many places in Kashmir which are named after Mitra such as Mitar goum, Mir etc.

The Administrative system:

The Saka and the Parthian coins do not use the simple titles of 'Besileus' and *maharaja* (king), but assumed the grander title of

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98 Gulshan Majid, p. 63.

99 Ehsan Yarshater, op. cit., intr. p. IXXI.

100 Cartsten Colpe, "Development of Religious Thought" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3 (2), pp. 850-51.

101 Ibid.

102 Robert E. Fisher, "Stone Temples" in Pratapadditya Pal, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Kashmir*, p. 36.

'Basileus Basileon' and *maharaja rajatiraja* (king of kings). The title assumed by the kings shows it clearly that the political system of the Sakas and Parthians was 'feudal' in nature. They left the conquered provinces either in the control of the local hereditary monarchs or appointed their own people as Ksatrapas (satraps). But in both the cases the local rulers used to be like kings in their respective areas though they had to acknowledge the suzernity of the 'king of kings.' Kashmir too was obviously ruled through the ksatrapas.

Agriculture Technology:

Given the fact that agriculture was the mainstay of the economy of the state, it is quite expected that the Saka and the Parthian rulers would have introduced into Kashmir the improved agricultural technology. It may not be without any interest to mention that one of the ploughs of Kashmir resembles with Persian plough, *gajemeh*.[103] Which was also widely used for rice cultivation in Caspian provinces.[104] In the neighbouring territory of Chilas we come across a carved rock of Parthian period which besides other things contains a carving of a human, carrying a plough on his shoulders.[105] This clearly shows the importance of the implement during the period.

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103 Abdul Waheed, *Traditional Agricultural Technology of Kashmir*, M. Phil. Dissertation, Department of History, Kashmir University, p. 78.

104 Ibid

105 A. H. Dani, *Chilas*, p. 66, and plate No. 48

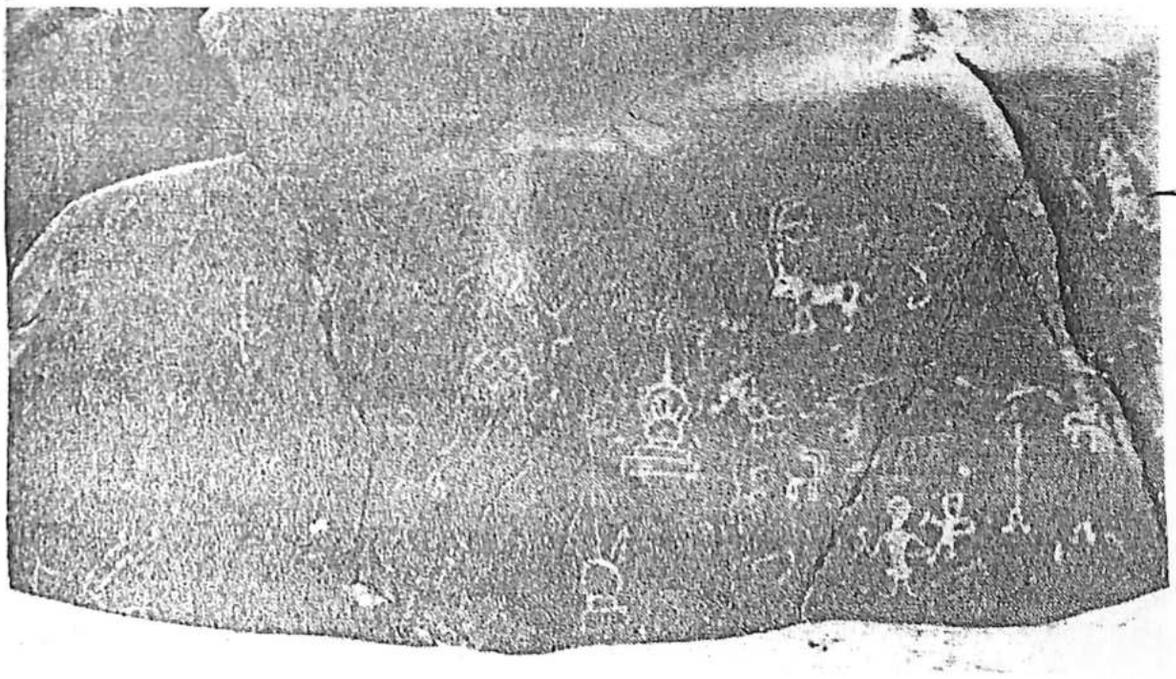

Fig. 6.13 A human carrying a plough on his shoulder
Thalpan II (Chilas) *Courtesy A.H. Dani*

To sum, like their predecessors the Sakas and the Parthians significantly contributed to enriching the mosaic of Kashmir culture. Besides what we outlined below, they introduced certain new types of dress and ornaments, food habits, utensils, furniture, music, musical instruments, systems of reckoning dates, vocabularies, etc.[106] The Parthian mode of dress, with leggings and long skirts, diaphanous garments and prominent ear- rings is found upon the Harwan tiles.

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106 B.N. Mukherjee, *Mathura and its Society: The Saka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981, pp. 112, 121, 122, 176, 200.

CONCLUSION

History is the science of change, of transformation. Change either originates internally or it is produced by external factors, though the two are not mutually exclusive. In sociological language the former is called endogenous and the latter exogenous change. In this work we have focused on the role of external factors in the evolution and growth of Kashmir culture. Our evidence proves it beyond doubt that the Kashmir culture is basically a diffusion-stimuli-culture. It evolved, grew and changed mainly because of the transfer of cultures from the neighbouring world consequent upon the immigrations, settlements and cultural interaction. The presence of some exotic technological and cultural items (whose places of origin are well known) from the aceramic Neolithic through the different periods of its history to the beginning of the Christian Era with which the present study terminates, situates Kashmir history in the context of global history.

The major civilizations which accounted for the formation of early culture of Kashmir are Mesopotamian, Iranian, Central Asian, Chinese, Greek and Indian civilizations. However, we should not forget that the sources of these civilizations were not entirely indigenous. They too had borrowed many traits from other civilizations, located far away from Kashmir. The cultural traits of these civilizations diffused in Kashmir slowly through the channels of migrations, trade and cultural interaction. However, before infiltrating into the Valley these traits converged in the area situated closely on

the northern and western borders of Kashmir. The area stretched from Baltistan through Gilgat, Astor, Chilas and Swat to Taxila Valley. Owing to its geographical location, this area was connected with China and Central Asia on the one hand and Iran and Indian Sub-continent on the other, making it a fascinating centre of hybrid culture drawn from many centres of civilization. It was this syncretic culture which these borderlands of Kashmir transmitted to the Valley by acting as cultural entrepots or cultural mediators between Kashmir and the rest part of the world.

While throughout its history Kashmir remained in touch with what was happening around it and positively responded to the culture changes which it came to know mainly through the movement of people and ideas, the fact remains that from around six hundred B.C. the history of Kashmir's contacts with the outside world entered into a revolutionary phase. This was the result of the successive emergence of great powers on the western and northern borders of Kashmir, resulting into Kashmir's political integration with great empires created by Achaeminds, Mauryas, Indo-Greeks, Sakas and Parthians. As a result, there was streaming of migrations into the Valley and an unprecedented increase in trade and cultural interaction between Kashmir and the neighbouring world.

Alongside helping Kashmir to move from progress to progress, the external influences brought Kashmir in the network of global culture. To be sure, Kashmir offers some classic examples of the process of cultural convergence and the emergence of a world culture. For example, the copper hair-pins discovered from Gufkral have parallels in not less than eighteen sites, spreading from Greece to

Persian Gulf and Caucasus to the Indus. Another dramatic example of this convergence is the painted design upon a pot representing a horned head. Such representations have also been found at Hissar (Iran), Kot Diji, Gumla, Rehman Dheri, Sarai Khola, Lewan and Kalibangan. We have given as much examples of cultural convergence during the pre-historic Kashmir as was possible within the constraints of sources, time and space. The sources of major cultures– Mauryan, Indo-Greek, Saka and Parthian–which profoundly influenced Kashmir from 300 B.C, were also drawn from many civilizations. This is reflected from the Harwan tiles, which according to Percy Brown "represent motifs suggestive of more than half a dozen alien civilizations of the ancient world, besides others which are indigenous and local".[1] In this way Kashmir was not only integrated culturally with Indian sub-continent, Greece, Iran and Central Asia but also with almost all major civilizations of the world.

The culture that came to be thus formed is reflective of global culture. This is further supported by the heterogeneous physiognomy of Kashmir is as well as by their language which contains a wealth of loan words drawn from diversified civilizations and cultures. Having met at a place hemmed in by the mountain ramparts, these cultures, after interacting with one another and the physical environment, gave birth to a new culture. But the basis of the new culture was global, no less and no more.

[1] Percy Brown, op.cit, p. 155

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